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ABSTRACT

The National Forum on Schools, "Partnerships in Education: Toward a Literate America," held in Washington, D.C., on September 20-21, 1989, was called as an impetus to forming educational partnerships in order to generate creative solutions to educational problems. The proceedings document begins with an introduction by Gilbert R. Herer titled "Communication: The Key to Education." It provides the text of a keynote address, "With Literacy and Justice for All: America's Unfinished Revolution" (Mary Hatwood Futrell), and two luncheon addresses, "Language and Literacy in an Information Age" (Senator Paul Simon) and "Federal Policy Briefing Session" (Terry Lierman). Other papers include: "The Young Child at Risk" (Jerome Kagan); "Assessing Young Children: Reconciling Conflicting Needs and Strategies" (Sharon Lynn Kagan); "Young Children at Risk: Language Development and Intervention" (Robbin Parish); "Iowa's Partnership To Help Young Children at Risk" (William L. Lepley); "From Language to Reading and Reading to Language" (Jeanne S. Chall); "Roles of the Speech-Language Pathologist in Disadvantaged Children's Pursuit of Literacy" (Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar); "Motivating the Unmotivated: Meeting the Nation's Literacy Needs into the Twenty-First Century" (S. Jay Samuels); "Education in a Multicultural Society" (Noma LeMoine); "Literacy in America: Cultural Challenges to Progress and Productivity" (Dwight M. Ellis); "Educating Language Minority Children: Politics, Research, and Policy" (James Crawford); "Speech-Language Pathologists and Educators: Time To Strengthen the Partnership" (Fay Boyd Vaughn-Cooke); and "Summary and Recommendations" (Shirley Jones Daniels). (Most papers contains references.) (JDD)

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Partnerships in Education: Toward a Literate America

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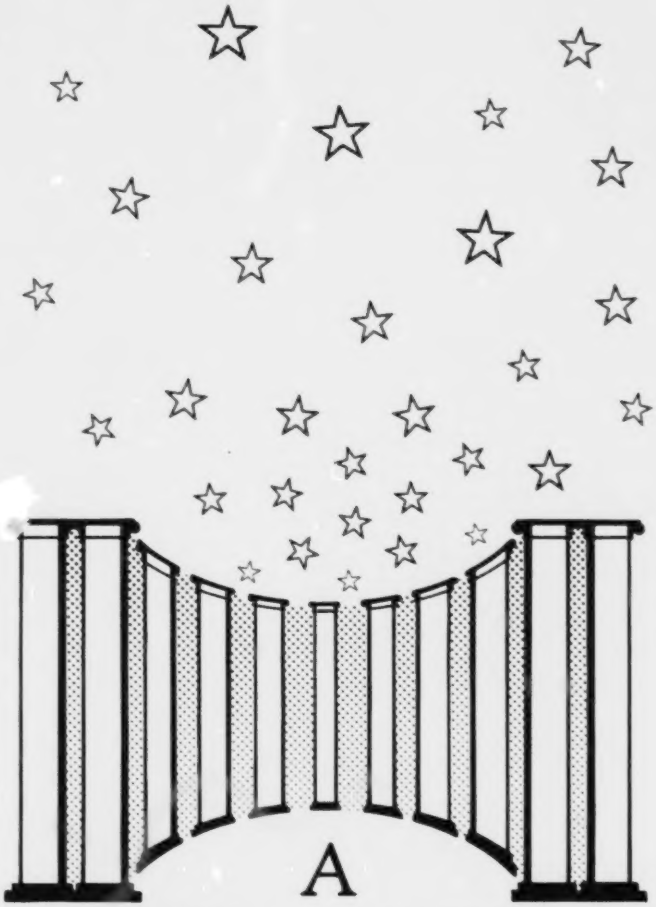

A NATIONAL FORUM ON SCHOOLS

Partnerships in Education: Toward a Literate America

* * *

American Speech-Language-Hearing Association

PARTNERSHIPS IN EDUCATION: TOWARD A LITERATE AMERICA

Edited by
BILLIE ACKERMAN STEWART, PH.D.

ASHA Reports 17 (ISSN 0569-8553)

AMERICAN SPEECH-LANGUAGE-HEARING ASSOCIATION
Rockville, Maryland

November 1989

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PREFACE

BILLIE ACKERMAN STEWART,
American Speech-Language-Hearing Association,
Rockville, MD

Today almost half of the 59,500 members of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) are employed in the nation's schools. Although school-based speech-language pathologists and audiologists work primarily with children and youth who have communication disorders, their expertise frequently is utilized in a number of areas throughout the educational system. They work collaboratively with teachers, administrators, parents, state and federal educational agencies, related professionals, and the private sector.

Under the leadership of Dr. Gilbert Herer, ASHA's President, the Executive Board committed a substantial amount of financial, staff, and volunteer resources to convene a conference aimed at forging educational partnerships to address three major issues facing the schools: (1) identifying young children at risk for educational failure, (2) ending illiteracy, and (3) meeting the needs of the burgeoning number of multicultural students. The assumption underlying the Board's decision is that problems are more amenable to solutions through the total of our cooperative efforts rather than the sum of our individual parts.

In October 1988, a Planning Committee convened to put vision to plan. Katharine Butler (Chair), Frances Block, Ann Carey, Crystal Cooper, Joseph Freilinger, Gilbert Herer, Judith Montgomery, Kenneth Perrin, Jay Samuels, and Billie Stewart created the framework from which the program evolved.

The National Forum on Schools, "Partnerships in Education: Toward a Literate America," held in Washington, DC, on September 20–21, 1989, was attended by over 200 invited participants representing a variety of educational interests. Attendees included individuals from 22 federal agencies (including the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education), 14 state education agencies, 5 congressional committees, 20 businesses, 28 universities, and 40 professional associations. Also in attendance were more than 30 individuals who provide direct services in the schools. The impressive faculty comprised 19 national leaders and included a U.S. Senator, a chief state school officer, university faculty members, educators, speech-language pathologists, a journalist, a lobbyist, and related professionals.

Just as the conference was called as an impetus to forming educational partnerships, behind-the-scenes partnerships were required to make it a success. The ASHA President, Executive Board members, Executive Director, and over 25 National Office staff members from the Professional Affairs, Professional Practices, Governmental Affairs, Public Information, Administrative, and Business Management Departments devoted considerable time and energy to this important activity.

This publication is the first step in an extensive follow-up to the conference. Partnerships, such as those represented among the faculty and participants, are necessary to enter the 1990s with creative solutions to educational problems.

FACULTY

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Katharine Butler (Panel Moderator)
Director of the Center for Research and Acting Director of the Division of Special Education and Rehabilitation, Syracuse University; Past President of the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, New York State Speech-Language-Hearing Association and the International Association of Logopedics and Phoniatrics.

Aquiles Iglesias (Panel Moderator)
Chair, Department of Speech-Language-Hearing Sciences at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; researcher in the area of discourse in bilingual classrooms.

Judith Montgomery (Panel Moderator)
Director of Special Education, Fountain Valley School District in California; President of the California Speech-Language-Hearing Association; Orange County Outstanding Educator of the Year.

Jeanne S. Chall
Professor of Education at Harvard University; Director of the Harvard Reading Laboratory; author of *Learning to Read: the Great Debate* and *Stages of Reading Development*; co-author of the Dale Chall Readability Formula.

James Crawford
Freelance journalist; author of *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice*; former Washington editor of *Education Week* and the congressional editor of *Federal Times*.

Shirley Jones Daniels
Former Commonwealth Visiting Professor, College of Education, Virginia Tech; former Acting Chief, Program Administration Branch, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services (OSERS), U.S. Department of Education.

Dwight M. Ellis
Vice President, Minority and Special Services for the National Association of Broadcasters; Board of the National Press Foundation; member of the Executive Committee of the Capital Press Club.

Mary Hatwood Futrell
Immediate Past President, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.; Senior Fellow and Associate Director of the George Washington Center for the Study of Education and National Development; Vice President, World Confederation of the Organized Teaching Professions.

Gilbert R. Herer
President, American Speech-Language-Hearing Association; Director, Children's Hearing and Speech Center, Children's Hospital National Medical Center, Washington, D.C.; Professor, George Washington University.

Jerome Kagan
Professor of Human Development, Harvard University; Phi Beta Kappa Traveling Scholar; Awards from American Psychological Association, American Psychiatric Association, Yale University and Cambridge University; author of significant publications and research in child development.

Sharon Lynn Kagan
Associate Director of the Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy at Yale University; Governing Board of the National Association for the Education of Young Children; former Director of the Mayor's Office of Early Childhood Education in New York City.

Noma LeMoine
Coordinating specialist for the Los Angeles Unified School District, Speech-Language and Aphasia Program; Commissioner on Education, California Speech and Hearing Association; member of the Board of Directors for the National Black Association for Speech, Language and Hearing.

William L. Lepley
Director, Iowa State Department of Education; advocate for education reform and increased funding for early childhood and at-risk programs; former teacher, principal and superintendent.

Terry Lierman
President of Capitol Associates; noted health care lobbyist and author; Executive Director, National Coalition for Cancer Research; Executive Director, National Committee on Medical Research and Education; former Staff Director for United States Senate Committee on Appropriations.

Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar
Associate Professor in Curriculum, Teaching and Psychological Studies, University of Michigan; researcher; former teacher; consultant to Michigan State Department of Education; instructor of staff development in schools.

Robbin Parish
Director and Founder of the Parish School, Houston, Texas; member of the Child Care Subcommittee of the Houston Private Sector Initiative; Past President of the Texas Speech and Hearing Association.

S. Jay Samuels
Professor of Educational Psychology, Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Minnesota; author of nine books and numerous publications in reading; International Reading Association highest award for research and service.

Senator Paul Simon
Member of Congress for 15 years; member of the Committee on Education and Labor during his five terms in the House; current member of Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources and Subcommittee on the Handicapped; recently introduced the "Illiteracy Elimination Act," a comprehensive bill which aims to help more than 23 million illiterate adult Americans.

Fay Boyd Vaughn-Cooke
Professor in Communication Arts and Sciences at the University of the District of Columbia; Affiliate Scholar at the Center for Applied Linguistics; author and researcher in assessment of language, language acquisition and oral language in reading instruction.

Conference Coordinator
Billie Ackerman Stewart
Director, Education Division
American Speech-Language-Hearing Association

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Chapter 1

COMMUNICATION: THE KEY TO EDUCATION

Gilbert R. Herer
American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, Rockville, MD

I am so pleased with the enthusiastic participation in the ASHA-sponsored National Forum on Schools. We represent many different fields and professions—business and industry; federal, state, and local education agencies; professional associations; and universities—and speech-language pathology and audiology as well as related professions. We are united not by any one narrow issue but instead by a very broad one—our commitment to the future of America's children.

This forum is an opportunity for us to address issues of common concern that affect the education of children in America. It is an opportunity to consider innovative and nontraditional approaches to educational problems. And, it is an opportunity to assert our mutual interests and the need for collaboration in dealing with the three key issues we have targeted—issues that can have a tremendous impact on America's youth, and thus our country's future.

Two weeks ago, school started. On the 6 o'clock news I saw reports of wide-eyed, expectant 5-year-olds with new shoes and new book bags. Some had the look of curiosity, others had understandable expressions of apprehension, but all appeared healthy, rested, and ready for the challenge of learning.

But, this Norman Rockwell picture of education is not the norm. Too many children experience failure in the educational system. These are the students whose futures we are considering today: the children who, because of possible difficulties at or soon after birth, are at risk for educational failure; the children who grow up to be illiterate or barely able to read and write; the children who must first master English before they can achieve success in school; the children from some groups in our society who must overcome barriers so formidable that many—far too many—choose instead to leave the educational system. Many of these children have a basic deficit in communication—whether reading, writing, or oral communication. They lack the most essential skills for success in school. Unable to achieve in school, they are truly handicapped in their attempts to succeed in the work force and even in daily life.

In all, these children form a large segment of our school-age population, making an impact on both the education system and the workplace that follows. In humanitarian terms, it is a segment that cries out for attention. We are a nation that values the individual and prides itself on providing for all of our children. Our commitment to children with handicaps proves that we are willing to provide resources for those who require extra services. For practical, as well as ethical reasons, we are committed to educating *all* of our children. Our task is made more difficult by the increasing complexity of the workplace, which requires a higher level of education and expertise than ever before. More children must be educated to the level needed to be productive in complex jobs. Every child, regardless of social background, ethnic background, or handicapping condition, needs and deserves the best education possible—an education that equips that child to succeed in the workplace of the future.

Are we successfully providing this now? The answer, as I'm sure you know, is that we are not. Failure—and, perhaps more sadly, *potential* failure—meets us at every stage. Children from disadvantaged homes start off brightly in preschool. Too often, however, despite early gains, they fall behind as they move through the grades. One in four of our 5-year-olds lives below the federal poverty line. Experts believe that the majority of new jobs in the 21st century will require some postsecondary education for the first time in history. Will those children be ready for the jobs of the next century? Are we doing enough to help them overcome a rough start so they can become productive employees?

Our drop-out rate is shockingly high—one-quarter of our children do not finish high school with their class, and more than 700,000 young people a year do not finish high school at all (Packer, 1988). Most are marginally literate and virtually unemployable. Ironically, even students who stay in school may be failing. Another 700,000 students, or more, graduate each year without functional literacy (Packer, 1988). On the seemingly brigher side, a study released in February by the Educational Testing Service (Roberts, 1989) found that students are mastering basic skills—but they are not mastering the advanced abilities needed to succeed in college and in the workplace. This is a critical problem at a time when more advanced abilities are required just to stay competitive in the marketplace. The study reports that about three out of five 17-year-olds lack the reading ability to find and explain complex information about the subjects they study. It reports, too, that more than one-fourth of all 13-year-olds do not understand the principles of basic mathematics. This study further shows that about seven of every 10 high-school students cannot write an adequate letter, and that 40% of 11th graders have never been asked to write about the results of a science experiment.

American business is responding to the literacy crisis by spending hundreds of millions of dollars every year as educators of last resort. Corporate America and small business in the private sector are providing scholarships, donations, tutoring, teacher grants, work study programs, and countless other enrichment and remedial programs. What else can a concerned community do to address this crisis?

The rate of failure for youth from racial and ethnic minority backgrounds is even higher than that of the overall population. Over half of public school students in 25 of our largest cities and metropolitan areas are members of minority groups. Low achievement, high drop-out rates, serious problems with drugs, and crime plague these school systems. By the year 2000, one-third of all school-age children will be from minority groups (Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, 1988). Members of these groups make up the fastest growing segment of our population and work force. By the next century, these individuals will constitute one-third of the net additions to workers in the United States (Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, 1988). Our future economic competitiveness depends to a large extent on their contributions to business and industry. Again we must ask, is there a fresh approach to educational problems that will make an impact on students from multicultural backgrounds?

Further, students who are not proficient in English present extraordinary challenges for school systems. These challenges involve not only preparing them to participate in the mainstream, but also ensuring recognition of diverse learning styles and cultural differences by teachers and other students. Are there untapped resources and more effective ways to help these linguistically and culturally diverse students succeed?

As the president of the national professional association representing speech-language pathologists and audiologists, my attention is particularly focused on the role of communication in the success or failure of students. Communication skills are at the heart of the education process. We know that many students with speech and language disorders have or develop reading problems. Many children at risk for educational failure have a speech-language delay. Even students with a mild hearing loss miss critical instructional cues in the classroom. Most students whose first language is not English must become proficient in English, the language of school, before they can complete their education successfully. Furthermore, a communication disorder, which hampers their ability to learn, may be masked by their limited proficiency in English.

The *ability to communicate* is what links the three issues that we will address at this forum—Young Children at Risk, Literacy, and the Multicultural Population. As communication specialists, speech-language pathologists and audiologists have a key role to play in meeting the needs of students with communication deficits. About 50% of ASHA's membership of 58,000 works in the schools of America. We are a resource that is ready to make a significant contribution to the communicative effectiveness of all children, not only those with handicapping conditions who are in special education programs.

With our assessment and diagnostic skills, we have a role to play in early intervention. With our expertise in the skills that constitute literacy, we have a role to play with students whose repeated failure in schools leads them to drop out, and with those students who need to master English.

As communication specialists, we understand the underlying problems that contribute to reading and writing failure, that contribute to the frustrating inability to comprehend instructions and concepts, and that contribute to the inability to learn successfully. For at the heart of the successful school experience is the ability to master the components of communication. The most dedicated, the most effective classroom teacher cannot teach the child who has not developed adequate communication skills to learn. I submit to you that some of the failure children experience in school can be alleviated by helping them to develop the skills needed to communicate in school. An unusual idea? Perhaps. Will it work? I think so. Does it make sense? I hope so—because it is one of the few untried ideas left to us.

David Broder, of *The Washington Post* (Broder, 1989), says it is reasonable to expect that President Bush's education summit next week in Williamsburg will produce a commitment to set national standards for schools and students. Among the goals—reducing the illiteracy and dropout rates; improving students' language, mathematics, and thinking skills; assuring that all youngsters start school healthy enough to learn.

President Bush and Governors of America—we stand ready to help in this task of national renewal.

By working together, we who represent many professional viewpoints can explore communication effectiveness and other new ideas and new resources, to help children at risk, students with minimal literacy, and youngsters from diverse cultures. Our nation's most precious resource for the future, our children, deserve this attention. Welcome to ASHA's National Forum on Schools and to the exploration of communication as a creative solution to the problems we will address.

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Chapter 2

WITH LITERACY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL: AMERICA'S UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

MARY HATWOOD FUTRELL
The George Washington Center for Educational Studies and National Development, Washington, DC

I had the privilege, as you know, of serving as president of the National Education Association (NEA) for the past 6 years. And I'm now beginning to enjoy the luxury of reflecting on the issues, the events, the challenges that defined that period.

This opportunity for retrospection has increased my appreciation for the wisdom of H. L. Mencken, for it was Mencken who said that to every complex problem, there corresponds a simple solution which is invariably wrong. During my tenure as NEA president, I watched those so-called solutions come and go. They almost always made headlines. They seldom made sense. As a result, the threat that the reform era would be remembered as an age of idle chatter rather than an age of substantive change loomed large.

I believe—I certainly hope—that threat has subsided. And this conference increases my hope. For you have asked me to address a complex matrix of problems. But you've also pointed the way toward a lasting solution. You've done that with three simple words—words you chose to define the focus of your conference. Those words are *partnerships in education*.

Those words suggest to me that your organization—the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association—has embraced what the former president of American Express, Louis V. Gerstner, termed the *Noah Principle:* No more prizes for predicting rain—prizes only for building arks.

I suggest to you that the hull of that ark has at last been completed. All of us in the education community now have a sturdy foundation beneath us. That foundation is present in the form of a new national consensus, a consensus which holds that an investment in education today is an investment in America's tomorrow, that the one sure path to national security is support for programs that offer children opportunity, that the route to a future more prosperous, more free, and more just passes through the schoolhouse door—and that there is no detour, no alternate route.

The American people, and America's elected leaders, understand as never before that if America expects to regain its preeminence in the new global economy, then education in America needs more than cosmetic changes. The time for tinkering is past. American education needs comprehensive, fundamental, systemic change. And our destiny as a democracy depends on it.

What brought about this new consensus? Perhaps a strong dose of humility. Perhaps a taste, bitter-sweet, of reality.

In support of this suggestion, let me invoke the date October 19, 1987. On that day, almost two years ago now, the stock market fell by over 500 points. That day jolted America. That day awakened America. And as we came to terms with the trauma of that day, we began to see that our economy is intertwined with all economies, that we do indeed live in a global village, that the economic competition within that village is often fierce, and that the United States is by no means the guaranteed victor.

Other lessons followed, harsh lessons, important lessons. And soon American corporate leaders were saying what education leaders had been saying for years—an undereducated America cannot remain competitive in the new world economy. Soon, the president of IBM sounded at least a bit like the former president of NEA. And soon candidates who wished to serve in the White House echoed the belief of those who served in the schoolhouse—that America's might does not reside in silos packed with missiles but in young minds packed with potential.

On October 19, 1987, America did a lot of growing up. Adversity proved instructive. Adversity taught us that there are no dispensable children.

The children we term disadvantaged and at risk—these children who survive at the margins of our society—may be our "dependents" today. But very soon, we shall be their dependents: We shall depend on them to see America through the 21st century. If they are to shoulder this responsibility, it is imperative that they receive the education they need to become productive members of America's work force and active participants in our democracy.

Yes, the members of our at-risk population must become literate—but not in any "minimalist" sense. Given the challenges that await us as twilight descends on this often-dark century, we cannot equate literacy with the ability to read simple sentences or decipher a road map. Instead, I believe we must define literacy as the ability to participate fully, responsibly, and productively in the life of our republic.

A literate citizen is prepared to make informed choices, whether in the supermarket or in the voting booth. A literate citizen is able to see through deceptive facades, whether contrived by Wall Street advertisers or political image-makers. In short, a literate citizen can read—yes. But, more important, a literate citizen can read between the lines. This loftier definition makes the challenge of literacy greater. But I believe we can meet that challenge. We will succeed, however, only if we are willing to take risks—only if we are prepared to alter fundamentally the status quo.

We can meet the challenge of producing a literate citizenry if we remember two things. First, expanded literacy will come only with expanded opportunity. And second, expanding opportunity for all our young people defines the foremost responsibility of every citizen, including those elected to high office.

This is the presupposition I bring to the issues you have asked me to address today. It is against this backdrop that I wish to outline the direction in which I believe we must move if we are to ensure a prosperous and just future for America, and if we are to spread hope among the mounting number of young people who are exiled from the American dream and condemned to the ghetto of despair.

I am convinced that the national renewal America now seeks will arrive only if we recognize that revitalizing our national economy is inseparable from the task of revitalizing our national commitment to civil rights—especially to the most basic civil right, the right of every child to receive a quality education.

Expressed differently, if we are to meet the economic challenge before us, we must also meet an ethical challenge. And that means we must forsake old educational myths that are simply inadequate to new economic realities. The old myth tells us that we can educate the best and forget the rest. The new reality is that the only sure protection against economic decline is an education that meets the needs of the deprived as well as it meets the needs of the privileged, the needs of the destitute as well as the needs of the affluent, and the needs of children burdened by disabilities as well as the needs of children blessed with robust health.

We must act on the knowledge that the children we pronounce at-risk are a resource we can no longer neglect. We can no longer ask them to wait. For each moment that we ask our at-risk students to wait for relief, to wait for help, to wait for justice, another child drifts toward despair, another child becomes pregnant, another child overdoses on drugs, another child drops out of school and drops into the dark underbelly of American life. Another child dies inside.

This is the tragedy beneath the statistics on at-risk youth. This tragedy must end. This national disgrace must end. And, let there be no mistake; good intentions will not suffice. Pity never filled an empty stomach. Pity never cured a single case of dysphasia or dysphonia. Pity never sheltered or educated even one of the three-quarters of a million children who are now homeless in America. Pity means nothing to a young person trapped in a culture where crack cocaine is the most valued commodity and weapons of war the established currency.

Good intentions must give way to concerted actions—to actions that bring the blessings of hope to children who have known only the blight of hopelessness, the warmth of acceptance to children who have known only the chill of rejection, the light of learning to children who have known only the darkness of ignorance.

I repeat: at-risk children need treatment, not pity. They need our expertise, not our sentimentality. More than anything, they need freedom—freedom from the conditions that stifle their potential and crush their self-esteem. For some children, this freedom will come with socioeconomic change. For others, it will come with exposure to a teacher who refuses to give up on them and refuses to let them give up on themselves. And for others, freedom will come with your work, with the diagnosis and treatment of communication disorders that might otherwise leave these students stigmatized by labels like *lazy* or *disruptive* or *stupid*.

This is the work that you, the members of ASHA, perform. It is the work of liberating the body and thereby liberating the spirit. It is work that unleashes the learning potential of students thought incapable of learning. It is invaluable work. And every teacher in this nation owes you a debt of gratitude.

But if America is not to be a land of liberty and justice for some, it cannot remain a land of literacy and justice for some. If the children we pronounce at risk of failure are not to become children condemned to failure, then the debt America's teachers owe you must become still greater. America's teachers need more of your help. America's children deserve more of your help. And that means you must seek—and you must be granted—a greater role, a more central role, within the education community.

Your contribution to America's schoolchildren, and thereby to America's future, is both great and greatly underestimated. Just as surely, your contribution is limited. Speech-language pathologists and audiologists are not an integral part of the staff in every school. They are not even part of the staff in every district.[1] I submit to you that until this changes, we will continue to waste youthful potential. We will continue to condemn thousands—indeed, hundreds of thousands—of America's children to a world of sound that makes no sense, to a world of print that conveys no meaning.

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[1] *Editor's Note:* Under the Education of the Handicapped Act, children with speech, language, or hearing impairments are entitled to receive speech-language pathology and audiology services they require to benefit educationally. School districts are required to identify, locate, evaluate, and provide appropriate services to those children.

My contention is this: the partnership between K-12 teachers and communication disorder specialists must become tighter. Adequate and appropriate speech and language skills form the underlying basis of a school curriculum. Speech-language pathologists and teachers must work together to provide a strong foundation for success in school. If this does not happen, I fear we will see the exacerbation of problems that have already reached crisis proportions. And I fear we will see the slow destruction of the vision of education you champion—a vision that rests on the understanding that just as we cannot educate students who arrive at school diminished by poverty and malnutrition and drug abuse, so, too, we cannot educate students who arrive at school with communication disorders that remain undiagnosed.

Think of all the students in America's classrooms who right now, at this very moment, are suffering through a terrifying nightmare—the nightmare of trying to cope in a world that, for them, is a bewildering jumble of sounds and symbols. The nightmare of being mocked and taunted because their speech is garbled. The nightmare of not knowing what to do next because they cannot decipher their teachers' instructions. The nightmare of looking at a textbook that might as well be full of hieroglyphics. The nightmare of wanting to learn and wanting to understand why you can't learn, and wondering if anyone, anywhere, will ever understand or ever help or ever free you from the agony of this loneliness and frustration and anger. You know, better than I, that many of these children descend into a private hell where their only companion is shame.

And yet, if we ask for funds to help these children, if we say that every student in every school in every district in America must have regular and frequent access to speech-language pathologists and audiologists, we are told to stop whining. We are told that this arrangement will cost money, and that money is not the solution to the problems of education. My friends, I listened to that sermon for every day of my 6 years as NEA president. I've listened to it for every day of my quarter of a century in the classroom. And I am sickened by it! I want to know if any of those people who so pompously tell us that money isn't the answer have looked into the face of a child whose eyes are swollen with tears, swollen with tears because of a pain that won't go away, a pain that says: I have no future, and nobody cares. I'd like to see policy makers forced to live, if only for one hour, in that child's world. After that hour, I'll bet that not a single one of them would dare to think they were being clever by saying, "Read my lips; no new taxes."

My point is this. Money is not the ultimate solution. But, just as surely, the problems confronting American education today will not be solved without money. And that, in a nutshell, is why classroom teachers and communication disorder specialists will not be able to enjoy an educational partnership unless they first forge a political partnership. That's not a fact that many professionals are comfortable with. But it is a fact. America needs more voices for the voiceless, and those voices must speak as one. America needs more warriors for the weak, and those warriors must march into battle together.

I began my remarks today by speaking of the proeducation consensus that now exists in our country. We must capitalize on that consensus. We must launch a children's crusade. And we must carry this crusade into our neighborhoods, our communities, our local and state legislatures, the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, and—yes—into the White House. And every time an elected official says to a suffering child, "No help for you," we must say to that official, "and good riddance to you." We must so awaken the conscience of America that we shall be able to make that statement and then make it count, at the ballot box.

My friends, too many of our schools are failing. And that means America is failing. America is failing to recognize that if our great nation loses its preeminent role as a world leader, it will not be because of Gorbachev's charisma or the economic challenge of Japan and Germany. No. If America loses stature in the world community, it will be because we failed to invest in our most precious resource: our children. America is failing to recognize the precious resource represented by every school child whose native language is not English. In the process, we are disenfranchising our newest citizens—the most recent immigrants from Africa and Southeast Asia and Latin America. We need to treasure this multiethnic, multilingual diversity, not denigrate it or try to eradicate it. And that means we need more bilingual education programs, programs redesigned with the help of speech-language pathologists.

America is failing to recognize how many of our present education practices bring added deprivation to the deprived and greater disadvantage to students already disadvantaged. That's why we need an alternative to tracking, to the practice of grouping students on the basis of test scores that supposedly measure academic potential. Tracking has been abused and misused for years, and it's ripe for further abuse. We need a better way to determine student needs, and we will find that better way only when specialists in communication disorders join with teachers in designing and developing curricula.

America is failing to recognize that other countries are mounting an all-too-effective challenge to our global preeminence precisely because they are devoted to giving their children healthy and stimulating preschool experiences. We need to pass HR3—the Child Development and Education Act now before Congress. But, more generally, we need to recognize that it is time to concentrate attention on the prekindergarten and early elementary school population. And the most essential work at these levels—the work of uncovering cognitive problems before they become untreatable and diagnosing learning difficulties before they become paralyzing—this work will be successful only if it is rooted in the expertise that speech-language pathologists and audiologists possess.

My friends, as part of my post-NEA duties, I am working at George Washington University. But I speak to you today as a K-12 teacher. And I am saying—we need your help. I want to be honest with you. The area of speech-language pathology and audiology is new to me. I never taught in a school with a communication disorder professional. But I certainly know, looking back, that I had more than a few students who needed their help. I remember them well. I remember their desperation. I remember their frustration. And so, as I look ahead, as I look at the constellation of problems confronting our schools, I become more and more convinced that you must be there at the school site, in the trenches, where the children at risk are, where the children in need are.

Yes, this will require additional funding. And we will be told once again that the budget deficit prevents us from investing more in our children. But I think all of us know what the last decade has made clear; the budget deficit will never weaken us half as much as the social deficits committed in this name. I think the American people understand this very well. They have spoken. And they have said, according to the most recent Gallup Poll on education, that they want the best for their children, for America's children, and that they are willing to put their money where their hearts are. They don't want more reports. They want results. And I believe we are at long last nearing the day when the American people will tell their elected leaders that

- A government that cares about the health of savings and loan institutions more than it cares about the health of children is not acceptable.
- A government that will fully subsidize the tobacco industry but will not fully subsidize child health care is not acceptable.
- A government that will not cut its financial ties to the apartheid government of South Africa but will cut school nutrition programs is not acceptable.

When this message is heard and heeded, only then shall we know an America actively committed to the principle that "We do not inherit the world from our ancestors, we borrow the world from our children." And only then will we be able to move America toward the day when every child knows the blessings of liberty precisely because every child knows the blessings of literacy.

The words that can bring that day closer were spoken by Robert Kennedy during his visit to South Africa in 1968. Robert Kennedy said:

> Each time a man or a woman stands up for an ideal or acts to improve the lot of others or strikes out against injustice, he or she sends forth a tiny ripple of hope . . . and those ripples can build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

Too many of America's children are victims—victims of justice delayed and justice denied. We can end that victimization only if organization like the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association and the National Association of School Nurses and so many others nurture their alliance. Only if all of us act to improve the quality of health care and the quality of life for all of America's children. And only if we send forth millions of ripples of hope—ripples of hope that will sweep down the walls of oppression that still deny far too many American children the conditions that would allow them to grow, to live, to love, to know some of life's joy and some of the joys of literacy. This is the goal to which I remain committed. It is the goal I ask you to pursue. It is the ideal I urge you to move toward—for yourselves, for your profession, for America's children.

The partnership that will bring this ideal within reach is not just a partnership of professional associations, but a partnership of so-called ordinary citizens, a partnership of all Americans. It is the partnership that can infuse new life into Thomas Jefferson's message that "Education is the anvil upon which democracy is forged." It is this partnership that can infuse new life into the American dream. It is this partnership that holds the potential to drive our government toward fidelity to the glorious principles on which our nation was founded. And it is this partnership that makes of our splendidly diverse population one people—one people, under God, with literacy and liberty and justice for all.

Chapter 3

THE YOUNG CHILD AT RISK

Jerome Kagan
Harvard University,
Cambridge, MA

I begin with the most persuasive evidence, although anecdotal, that supports President Herer's early comments about the role of the schools. None of you know that ASHA President Gil Herer and I grew up in the same small town in New Jersey. I said to him before this meeting began that this small town in the center of New Jersey is surrounded by towns of similar demographic composition with the same types of parents that Gil and I had. But only this town produced Carl Sagan, Milton Friedman, the Nobel Laureate in Economics, and an eminent physiologist named Ronald Breslow. Why this town? Gil and I agreed that it was because it had a special group of teachers. Some towns, by chance or will, manage to mount unusually effective educational systems, which are extremely important.

I was asked by the program committee to talk about children at risk in a general way—not just the risk of academic failure. I begin by reminding you that children have always been at risk and of course always will be. History changes the nature of the risk. Until the latter part of the 18th century, or early part of the 19th, the major risk for children was dying in the first 4 years of life. And, that fact is still true in most parts of the world. Mortality in 1800 was about 40%, and there are now villages in Central America, Africa, and Indonesia where the mortality rate is still 40% in the first 3 years of life.

There is a book that you would enjoy called *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance.* The author John Boswell notes that in the 11th and 12th century, poverty in Europe was so great that mothers murdered their children. There are woodcuts of mothers dropping their children into the Tiber River, and if they were poor, that was not a crime because society realized they were too poor to take care of them.

In modern nations, like the United States, France, and Japan, mortality and morbidity, although still problems, are much less important risks, even though the mortality rate in the U.S. is higher in the first year than it should be and not the lowest in the world. Still, the vast majority of children survive to live into adulthood. The major risk for American children is failure to adapt psychologically. The problems of children are not whether a child will be ill or die but whether he or she will have a good job and happy marriage. I regard that as major progress over the last 200 years. Risk now means an impaired ability to gain a secure job with dignity, a gratifying marriage, and sound mental health. We expect more of life than our great, great grandparents did. If psychological maladaptation is the primary risk, then the nature of the risk will change with culture and time. In America, in the later part of the 20th century, there are three frequent outcomes for children that worry us. I shall discuss these three major risks in a moment. However, the causes, or etiology of these three risk profiles, are, of course, quite different, and we have to deal with them differently.

The first risk is *academic problems.* School is a narrow tunnel that all children must pass through successfully if they are to adapt to this peculiar society we live in. Failure to graduate from high school with a satisfactory level of linguistic and mathematical talents is a risk. The second risk we worry about is *conduct disorders.* I mean not only delinquency, but drug addiction, and character problems—the problem of the asocial child who is having a hard time adjusting to the social demands we ask of all people, which all people are capable of acquiring. The third risk, which is less of a problem to society, is *severe anxiety.* Some adults are extreme introverts, or are subject to conflict, panic, and anxiety attacks. I am not going to discuss all the causes of these risks because these are complex phenomena. I shall discuss four or five of the factors that influence these three risk profiles. Let me name the factors I regard as important influences.

The first influence is the *social class* in which you are born. If there were 1,000 people outside this hall, and you won a nickel each time you could predict whether a person was having academic problems or had a conduct disorder, what question would you ask, if you could ask only one question? You could ask what their mother did to them. You could ask what each person was like when he or she was 2-years-old. Or, what was the level of parents' education. You would win most money if you asked the last question for class is the most profound predictor of academic problems. I will try to detail why in a moment.

A second causal factor is the *biological temperament* of the child. I hope none of you find uncomfortable the suggestion that humans are like breeds of dogs. Most of us are mongrels of mixed heredity. But, there are a few pure types. The extreme introvert, T. S. Elliott, and the exuberant, fearless, Ernest Hemingway are examples of types. As I will indicate in a moment, these temperamental types inherit a neurochemical profile that influences their actions from the first moments of life.

A third factor is identification with *parental and sibling role models*. A fourth refers to the *sensory impairments* that ASHA professionals study. Finally there is the influence of *prenatal stress* or prenatal trauma. The balance of those five influences is unequal for the three risk outcomes—academic problems, conduct disorders, and extreme anxiety. Let us now discuss each of the three risk outcomes in more detail.

I first consider academic problems. There are at least four important sets of influences that are relevant here. As I have indicated, the social class in which you are born is the best predictor of school success. If you wished to predict high-school grades or final vocational status, class is the best single predictor. If you had a 5-year-old child's IQ score and that child's social class standing (by social class, I mean a combination of the education of the parents and their income) you could predict the child's future outcome. Of course, the two are highly correlated. If you had to choose only one predictor, class would be a better predictor than IQ. Class represents a niche in which a child grows. Class stands for many correlated experiences. It stands for the values that the child is surrounded by, the values communicated by family, the neighborhood, and the nature of his or her identification with adults.

There are several studies which show that if you change a child's social class in the first 2 years of life, that child's academic progress resembles that of the class in which he or she grew up. You find 100 adopted children from a lower class background, where one of the siblings was adopted into a middle-class family, but the other siblings stayed in the lower class environment. If you return when they are adolescents, the one that was adopted by the middle-class family has an IQ of 110 and wants to be a doctor or lawyer while the sibling left at home has an IQ of 90. Or one can study middle-class children who were adopted by lower class homes. (This does not happen in America but does in Europe). The child at age 10 is like a lower class child in values and aspirations. To show you how powerful class values can be, I present a compelling demonstration. Warsaw was destroyed by bombs in the Second World War. But because Warsaw fell under the Iron Curtain, it emerged with an egalitarian ethos. Warsaw was rebuilt with the intention of no residential segregation by class. Public housing is a set of large grey apartments where the residents are of all educational levels. The IQ and grades of these Warsaw children were correlated 0.5 with the educational level of their parents, even though all children live in the same building and attend the same school.

This is because the most important influences on a child's future academic progress are the values of the child's parents and how they act with that child. Those are hard things to change. We are the only species whose evolution was accompanied by a preoccupation with good and bad, right and wrong, worthy and unworthy. This is explained in the Tree of Knowledge allegory in *Genesis*. The symbols of social class are intimately correlated with ideas of good and bad, because middle class means a larger home, nicer car, more money, and symbolic signs of power. To be poor and uneducated implies something undesirable. A child growing up in a disadvantaged home feels less worthy. What did the middle-class French want before their revolution? They wanted the clergy and the nobility to throw away their signs. They could not walk around with special clothes reminding everyone else that they were better. One of the great achievements of the 20th century is that one can walk in Washington, and not know by a person's external signs to what class he or she belongs. But, unfortunately, the person knows his or her own class, and that is a problem. If you feel unworthy, your aspirations are low, and you question yourself and your potency.

But I hope you find time to read a powerful book by John Edgar Wideman. Wideman grew up in a Black ghetto in Pittsburgh. He managed to earn a Ph.D., is now a professor at the University of Wyoming, and has written several novels. He is popular and respected in his community. But his younger brother, who was a youth in the 1960s, murdered someone and is serving life in a Pennsylvania prison. The older brother wished to understand this contrast and wrote *Brothers and Keepers*. In the middle of the book, he writes an idea that must have brought a tear to his cheek. He says that although he is a professor of English who is respected in his community, each morning when he gets up he has a thought that lasts a few seconds—this is the day he will be discovered to be a fraud. That thought is the product of class. Mr. Wideman may never lose it.

We have a major problem in this country because we have become indifferent to the poor. The reasons are complicated; none of us understands them completely. We must reduce the differences between the classes. Class is relative. In the depression, when everyone was poor, one did not feel less worthy because one's neighbors were poor. In a dirt poor village in Guatemala, where about everyone lives on $30 a year, there is not a serious class problem. We are becoming indifferent to the gap between those who have and those who have not, and we must work on that problem. I agree that we have to work on curricula and diagnose speech and hearing problems early. We have to do all of those things—none is irrelevant. But that is not enough. We must worry about the gap between the bottom and the top 20%. And that will require help from Washington.

A second important set of causes for school failure is cognitive deficit. Some children have specific problems that are not only motivational. I refer to children who have dyslexia, for example. About 1% of the children are appropriately diagnosed as dyslexic. Fifty percent have reading problems, but most reading problems are not dyslexia. Dyslexia implies that there is a specific lesion in the central nervous system. Those children have to be treated in a special way. There is also a group of children correctly diagnosed as having attention deficit disorder—about 2% to 3%. We also have children with left hemisphere damage whose language retardation is not just experiential. I suggest about 6% to 7% of school children have serious cognitive problems. Their linguistic and communicative problems are not just a function of having families that did not cultivate their talents.

The third cause is low motivation. Low motivation is, in part, a function of class, for children do identify with role models who do not seem to care about academic accomplishment. And peer group standards are important. But, there are motivational problems of middle-class children that come primarily from being given excessively high standards.

One truism about human nature is that one only works toward a goal one thinks he or she has a moderate expectancy of obtaining. If you do not think you are going to attain a goal, you do not work for it. You must remember this fact from your college years because it can be seen every day on every campus. A freshman wants to be a physicist but realizes after the first physics course that he or she cannot be creative and so shifts major. Those who continue to try to attain a goal they cannot reach often see psychiatrists. This idea is captured in a wonderful film by Bunuel, "That Obscure Object of Desire." It is a serious sickness—to desperately want something you cannot have. Most of us learn early to give up the goals we cannot have. The problem is that some children acquire very high standards they cannot meet and that interferes with their school ability in a serious way.

A final cause has nothing to do with children or mothers, it has to do with us. We are the enemy. There is an apathy in our communities about these problems. American communities were less apathetic towards children with problems in the 1930s and 40s. Perhaps the problem seems too large. That is why India invented the idea of karma. When there are many, many untouchables, all cannot be helped. If 80% of our population were living on the streets (e.g., India), we would conclude that we cannot do anything. That is the defense India chose. If you are fated to be untouchable, then it is of no use to try to help.

I now turn to the second class of risks, conduct disorders: *asocial behavior, drugs,* and *delinquency.* Although they are less frequent they make us anxious. Three factors predict whether a child will be delinquent. Was the child born into the lower social class? Is the child a boy? Did he fail to attain adequate reading achievement by the third grade? Put those three factors together, and you predict 60% of those who will become delinquent.

We have already considered class as a cause. School failure is a cause of crime because a child turns against society if he or she cannot do what society asks. In a poor village in Kenya, every boy has to help his father plant corn or take care of cattle. The assignment for American children is school success. They understand that to fail at school is bad. You are a less worthy person if you fail, and, if you fail by the fourth grade you turn angry. If you are living in a lower class neighborhood where there are role models for crime, then you may become delinquent. The best way to reduce the delinquency rate is to reduce early academic failure.

Incidentally, we must separate two kinds of delinquents. There is the occasional delinquent, who makes up about 90% of the category. They commit about one or two acts. But 90% of the crime in America is committed by 10% of the criminals. That is, there is a small core group of chronic recidivists. That fact suggests that more than just child rearing is involved. There may be a temperamental factor involved. I now will consider temperament.

Let me explain what temperament means. Terriers, German shepherds, labradors, and beagles, although all of the same species, have inherently different neurochemical profiles. Each inherits a different brain chemistry, and that is one reason why they behave differently. There are over 150 different chemicals in our brains. You may know their technical terms: neurotransmitters like norepinephrine, serotonin, and acetylcholine; peptides; the endorphins and opioids, and hormones. The levels of those chemicals are inherited. Imagine combining each of 150 chemicals in different concentrations to make millions of different broths. Although most are not functional, I suspect several hundred are. There are several hundred different broths in which the human brain sits. Those broths determine the firing patterns of parts of the brain, and that is the origin of temperament. What makes us temperamentally different are the specific chemical broths in which our brain sits, even though the brains are all very similar.

Thus, there will be a large number of temperamental types discovered. A scientist stumbles first on the temperamental types that are most obvious. The first astronomers studied the moon, because it was obvious. They couldn't study quarks or supernovas because it takes instruments to discover them. What are the two most obvious types among humans? Because we are a social species and are constantly interacting with people, we notice an outgoing, sociable, exuberant child and a shy, timid, cautious child. The two are obvious temperamental types.

We have discovered that about 10% of children are born with a predisposition to be shy, timid, and fearful. The environment can overcome it; over half of the children born with this temperamental type will not be shy or very introverted when they are 8-years-old, and only about 2 out of 10 will, as adults, be introverts who find a cocktail party painful.

The other type is the outgoing sociable person. About 10 to 20% are born with a different neurochemical profile. It is not the opposite of the fearful child. It is a different broth. These children have a higher threshold to experience fear and anxiety. They do not become anxious as easily, to put it plainly. If they are in a middle-class home that socializes them to be achieving boys and girls, they are bidding to be leaders. They become presidents of classes, or CEOs of companies, or Ernest Hemingway. By contrast, T. S. Elliott was the introvert.

But, suppose a child who does not become anxious easily is growing up in a neighborhood at risk for crime. This child does not become anxious when peers say, "Why don't we mug that old lady?" or "Why don't we storm that gas station and steal some money?" David Farrington studied 8-year-olds in a London neighborhood who were at risk for delinquency. He followed them up 10 years later to ask, "Who's delinquent?" The children who were temperamentally fearful were less delinquent than the temperamentally fearless ones. The latter are most likely to become the recidivists.

I now deal with the last risk factor, which is the complement of what we have been discussing—the anxious person. In a mobile society like ours, many vocational roles have to be filled with people who can talk easily to strangers. The average person today will not spend his or her adult years in the community in which he or she was raised. Each has to make new friends. For most of the history of our species, one was born in a village and lived one's life in that village. If you were a shy person, that was irrelevant, because shy people had no problem with their relatives and friends. They only have problems with strangers. But, in modern nations with large metropolitan areas, shyness is a slight disadvantage. So, mothers worry about such children.

As I said earlier, for every 10 children born with the temperamental disposition to be shy, timid, and fearful—half are recovered by first grade. Maybe one will be a patient with panic agoraphobia. If one is afraid of having a panic attack, one stays home. We call that agoraphobia. Most of those people were temperamentally fearful children when they were younger. We can detect some of those children at 4 months of age. If you show infants mobiles or play taped speech, an average 4-month-old baby is alert and moves an arm, or kicks, because it is a little aroused. The reactions of most babies will be similar. But, there is one group of babies who are very relaxed. They don't move at all; they smile; they look relaxed. Those will be the sociable outgoing children. If one of those is a middle-class child, he or she is not at risk. But, if that child is living in a neighborhood at risk for delinquency, he or she is at risk for asocial behavior.

The last 10% of the infants are unique. They become highly aroused to mobiles. Their arms extend and for some moments their limbs will be spastic and move with high tension. They become so aroused, they start to cry. If you watch them in a film you become aroused. One feels empathetically that they cannot help their high style of arousal. This probably represents high activity in the limbic lobe. These babies become the shy children. Eight of 10 of the children in the second and third year are either moderately or extremely fearful.

But, in our society we need computer programmers, scientists, historians, and people who are going to research otitis media. Those are adults who did very well in school, in part because they were shy children who did not like to be with large groups. They found it hard to mix with a lot of children. The class scholar is often an introvert. Thus, in our society it is not a disadvantage to be a moderately shy child. In our studies of those children, their grades are a little higher than the grades of the fearless children, T. S. Elliott was a shy, frightened child.

Rita Levi-Montalcini won the Nobel Prize for discovering nerve growth factor. In her memoir, called *In Praise of Imperfection: My Life and Work*, she describes herself as a shy child.

Finally, a few caveats. Excluding serious sensory physical or central nervous system damage, I believe that any one of the risk factors considered alone—low social class, temperament, hearing impairment—is usually not sufficient to lead to any one of the anomalous outcomes. Not everyone with a lower social class background is a failure. Not everyone with a mild hearing impairment is a failure. It takes many events coming together. We should also remember that chance is a factor. In some cases, chance operates to make what is a risk event for most children, a reason for success.

Let me tell you a story of such a risk event which, if it had not happened, Herbert Hoover would not have been President. Herbert Hoover grew up in a small town in Iowa. He might have stayed in that town had not both his parents died before he was an adolescent. Who could care for young Hoover? He had an uncle in Oregon who would accept this boy. He went to his uncle, who was a harsh taskmaster. He would wake Hoover at 3:00 in the morning if he didn't do his chores and send him out on a cold winter morning. But, Hoover was living on the West Coast. Now here is the chance event that occurred. If Hoover had grown up in Iowa, he would not have heard that Stanford University was about to open. A high-school teacher said, "Herbert, there is a university in California. Why don't you apply?" Hoover applied to Stanford and was admitted. Mr. Stanford wanted an eminent faculty from the beginning. He hired a leading mining engineer to be professor and chairman of the new department. You know the rest of the story. Herbert Hoover met the engineering professor, who knew those who owned important gold mines in the world. When Hoover was sent by a wealthy company in England, doing mining in Australia. There he made a fortune running the gold mines. When he had made enough money, he decided to serve his country. He was an excellent Secretary of Commerce, as you know, and became President. Ladies and gentlemen, I believe that if his parents had not died, and he had not gone to Oregon, he would not have heard about Stanford, and you would never have heard of Herbert Hoover.

Risk need not always be a disadvantage. In my experience, some sons of famous fathers have problems because they cannot do as well as their fathers. They are at risk for not actualizing their potential though they began life with little risk.

What can we do about these problems? I have three suggestions. The first I have already mentioned. We must reduce the gap between the poor and the middle class. This is a political problem. We must vote for Senators and Congressmen who share our views. We can work in our individual communities. I do, and hope you will. But, in the end, it will require our legislature.

The second is a very concrete suggestion. Academic skills are critical for success in our society, and we know the neighborhoods where academic failure is high. Hence, I suggest that we locate the areas where risk for reading and mathematical failure in the fourth grade is too high. Test every 4-year-old child in those areas. The test includes vocabulary—I would even be happy with the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. If one is unsure about a particular child (Mary seemed scared when we tested her); we can retest that child. The second test is short-term memory, and the third is knowledge of letters and numbers. The tests take 45 minutes.

The children who are two standard deviations below the mean on those three tests are at a very high risk for reading failure. We do not know the reasons, but they are at risk. They must be tutored one-on-one as soon as possible. If communities have the money, they should hire specialized teachers. If communities do not have money, they should pick high-school seniors who have the maturity and the motivation to tutor those children for an hour a day, Monday to Friday, September to June, under the direction of a teacher. The communities that have done that have reported profound reduction of academic failure. It is not being done in more communities because superintendents do not like the logistics.

My third suggestion for solving the problems discussed is philosophical. Societies differ in their deepest premises; Americans hold a dangerous premise. The forces are complicated. We can blame no one. We can blame an event like the Vietnam War. It is a waste of time to blame anything. It is a strong belief in social Darwinism which declares that society is a jungle. In a jungle, tigers eat the poor little gazelles. That fact of nature does not say there is anything wrong with gazelles, nothing genetically inferior, it is just that gazelles get eaten by tigers. Too many Americans believe that society is a jungle and if the poor do not survive, that is a natural law. One reason why animal programs on TV are so popular is that we like their message. It reassures us. It relieves some guilt of the middle class, for after all, we are animals and part of nature. The poor happen to be the gazelles.

China does not believe in social Darwinism. The Chinese believe that everyone can be helped. Japan does not believe in social Darwinism. Social Darwinism is a dangerous assumption because, we are so different from chimpanzees. We have a sense of right and wrong. No chimpanzee will ever attain that idea. We are not, as a nature program implies, just hairless versions of gorillas. Examine all of the animal world from a distance (including humans). Each species has a special quality. Dolphins swim in schools. A bat, using echolocation, can detect a moth one millimeter away. What a specialized skill. That is the way to view animals. Each species is equipped with a special profile. One quality humans have, that is part of their genetics, is analogous to a bat being able to catch a moth—it is our conscience. There is no other animal species in the world with a conscience. We have lost it when it comes to the poor. If we do not reflect on our indifference, all the schooling, programs, and interventions will just be Band-Aids.

Chapter 4

ASSESSING YOUNG CHILDREN: RECONCILING CONFLICTING NEEDS AND STRATEGIES

Sharon Lynn Kagan
Yale University, New Haven, CT

As with many issues related to the care and education of young children, considerable controversy, mixed with an ample dose of confusion, surrounds the assessment of young children. Vociferous debate has been manifest in position statements by major organizations concerned with young children: the National Association for the Education of Young Children (1987), the National Association of Early Childhood Specialists in State Departments of Education (1987), the National Association of State Boards of Education (1988), the American Federation of Teachers (1988), to mention a few. The National Academy of Science through its National Forum on the Future of Children and Families is addressing the issues. And scholars have written widely about high-stakes testing in the early years (Meisles, 1988, 1989b), about the uses and abuses of tests (Shepard & Smith, 1988), and about alternatives to testing (Schultz, in press).

Not simple, the debate revolves around definitional issues (the differences between assessment, screening, and testing); methodological issues (the validity and reliability of instruments themselves and their appropriateness for very young children); utilization issues (for what purposes can/should we use results? for placement, programming, and/or retention?); and strategic issues (how to reconcile the legitimate need for child-specific data to improve pedagogy and practice with the need for aggregated data to improve policy).

Without devoting the entire contents of this article to these issues which have been ably addressed elsewhere, I will (a) suggest clarifying terminology, (b) summarize extant concerns regarding the use and misuse of achievement and readiness tests, (c) discuss how assessment can be used effectively to inform instruction, (d) share the advantages of appropriate developmental screening, and (e) suggest that public accountability demands the development of inventive vehicles for aggregating and reporting child data.

CLARIFYING TERMINOLOGY

Typically, *assessment* is an umbrella term encompassing a variety of strategies that help adults better understand children's repertoires of social and cognitive competencies. Assessment strategies include, but are not limited to, documentation, performance samples, observations, portfolio development, screening, and testing. Collectively, the combined set of strategies can yield descriptions of children's learning; provide information to enhance teaching; guide educators and parents regarding school placement decisions; and provide standardized information for policy.

Practically, one catch-all term for a myriad of functions does not lend precision to the debate. Consequently, *assessment* has been refined in the literature, with Gnezda (1989) offering the following synthesis:

> SCREENING—[identifies] children for further diagnosis of special needs or special attention in the schools;
> DEVELOPMENTAL ASSESSMENT—[provides] age-related norm-referenced information related to the skills and behaviors children possess in comparison to others for their chronological age;
> ACHIEVEMENT OR READINESS TESTING—[determines] a child's level of mastery over a limited scope of information or particular skills.

Although these definitions are useful, for purposes of this article, I want to deviate slightly so that the intent of assessment will more clearly drive the definitions used herein. By *testing*, I refer to standardized achievement and readiness tests. By *instructional assessment*, I refer to the range of strategies that yield usable information for classroom personnel to guide pedagogy. (Both terminology and definition should not be confused with that of developmental assessment offered above.) And by *developmental screening*, I refer to the above definition of screening (as opposed to developmental assessment).

That such care must be taken to define terms suggests the imprecision that characterizes the language of discourse. Yes, *test* is a noun and *test* is a verb, but, more importantly, the use of the single word *test* simultaneously camouflages our precise intent and reflects the reality that we do use standardized tests, however inappropriately, for a myriad of assessments.

USING AND ABUSING ACHIEVEMENT AND READINESS TESTS

This confounding of intent and strategy, this mismatch between the purpose of tests and how we use them, is one critical source of concern. Routinely and wrongly, tests never designed for such purposes are used to sort children in and out of programs and to classify them for retention or promotion (Shepard & Smith, 1988). A second source of concern, particularly to those concerned with young children, is the appropriateness of the testing process for young children. Because young children's growth is rapid, episodic, and highly individualized, a measure taken at a given point, like a snapshot, reflects only that point in time. Generalizing beyond that given amount in time, even for an individual child, does not acknowledge the "spurts and stops" that characterize normal child development. A third concern rests with the tests themselves. Meisels (1988; 1989a) suggests that few screening instruments, let alone valid and reliable screening instruments, have been devised. He claims that only a handful have been subjected to rigorous standardization. A fourth concern is the degree to which testing is driving the curriculum. Measurement-driven instruction (Madaus, 1988) has altered classroom practice. Teaching to the test has been legitimized; curriculum has been narrowed; and competencies typically unmeasured by routine tests (e.g., creativity, independence) are often ignored.

With so many concerns related to educational pedagogy, practice, and policy, it is easy to see why the "testing" issue captures so much attention. And it is easy to see why testing advocates have become more guarded in their stance regarding the use and abuse of tests for young children. Georgia, a state that instituted wide-scale kindergarten testing, dramatically reversed its position. Other states (e.g., North Carolina) have chosen to eliminate or delay the use of standardized tests in the early grades until children are better able to cope with test-taking, and results will be more reliable (Schultz, in press).

This more conservative stand is to be applauded for all very young children, but is particularly appropriate when considering young children who come to early care and education programs from culturally and linguistically diverse homes. No longer the numerical minority in countless states and cities, children from nonmainstream cultures and nonmainstream languages are seriously disadvantaged when they are evaluated with instruments that reflect neither.

California is a good case in point. The Report of the School Readiness Task Force (1988), in lamenting the liabilities of retention, noted that, "Children for whom English was a second language were more likely to be retained than children whose home language was English" (p. 13). Although there was no inference that inappropriate testing and testing practices caused such retention patterns, it is clear in an excellent Program Advisory from Bill Honig, Superintendent of Public Instruction (June 12, 1989), that concern with testing and the language in which tests are administered is of concern in a state with 7.3 million children, one-quarter of those in school, whose primary language is not English. The document reminded its readers: (a) "There is a requirement that all assessments be done in the children's primary language with culturally relevant testing material"; and (b) "*The State Department of Education does not require standardized, norm-referenced testing of young children.* In fact, it recommends that standardized, norm-referenced tests not be used in kindergarten." (Emphasis in original document.)

Clearly, excellent work is being and has been done on the relationship among culture, language acquisition, and learning (Bowman, in press; Cazden, 1988; Hilliard & Vaughn-Scott, 1982; Ogbu, 1973). That it is beginning to inform practice and policy is welcome, but not sufficient. Reforming testing and assessment procedures, although necessary, is a "tip of the iceberg" strategy. It alone will not reverse the disproportionate assignment of minority and language-minority children to special education and special services, or single-handedly alleviate their disproportionately high drop-out rates. A more comprehensive strategy is needed. Scholarly work must be applied to these issues; school reform must take them into consideration, and the decade old pleas for curricular relevance must be heeded.

As there is a need to look beyond the negative consequences of achievement testing for culturally and linguistically diverse populations, so is there a need to look beyond the negatives of this testing for all children. Such analysis propels us in several directions. First, rather than throwing the baby out with the bath water, we need to revisit the functional utility of tests for children beyond the early childhood years. We need to better understand tests' theoretical and practical evolution within American education. And we need to understand and alleviate the social and political forces that agitated alleged mis- and over-use. Second, as an educational community, we need to scrutinize our pedagogy to understand when, under what conditions, and for what purposes testing beyond the early years is appropriate. Finally, we need to develop and popularize alternatives to testing.

There can be no doubt that as education has become more bureaucratized, harassed, and accountable, children have borne the brunt. Certainly, it seems logical to screen children to determine program eligibility, particularly when resources are limited or targeted for special purposes (e.g., special education). Certainly, better understanding of children's developmental competencies enables teachers to create options to maximize learning. And certainly, educational leaders must be armed with understandable, cogent, and convincing data that demonstrate need when forced to compete with other agencies for limited dollars. The question is, what strategies are appropriate for what purposes?

INSTRUCTIONAL ASSESSMENTS: AN ALTERNATE STRATEGY

Although eliminating all tests in lieu of instructional assessments is not a viable strategy, comprehensive instructional assessments hold promise as a sound option for many current testing dilemmas. Instructional assessment (as distinct from developmental assessment) refers to an array of strategies used by educators to garner information about children. This assessment includes collecting samples of children's work over time; using tapes and video tapes to chronicle children's progress; using documentation strategies; keeping logs or journals on children's activities; using informal observations; and using teacher-made checklists. Not mutually exclusive, these strategies bear little resemblance to standardized tests, yet they yield information more potent and more usable for those who work with children. Further, they are more consistent with the developmental characteristics of the young child (Teale, 1988).

One such strategy, documentation, uses performance samples and observational methods for recording children's progress as initial readers. The over-all goal has been to create systematic assessment strategies, as alternatives to testing, that yield descriptive records of children's learning while enhancing teachers' powers of observing and understanding early reading (Chittenden & Courtney, 1989). Predicated on the knowledge that teachers' observational "data base" is substantial, but that often teachers don't have the time to record such information, the documentation strategy suggests teacher training and the use of two inventive strategies. First, the observation recording form allows teachers to document their observations of children's investment or interest in the task. Using multiple and naturalistic settings for such observation allows for the inevitable unevenness in children's development and permits the teacher to capture children's different patterns of interest and strength across time and cognitive domain. Second, performance samples of children's work are collected and complement the observations; they also provide tangible evidence of children's work and progress. Such samples include written work and even notational samples of children's reading. By experimenting with documentation and comparing notes, teachers will be able to try out different approaches, determining which suits them best.

In discussing emergent literacy—the reading and writing behaviors of young children that precede and develop into conventional literacy, Sulzby (in press) offers interesting assessment strategies. Although some strategies used to assess writing once children engage in conventional writing (counting and evaluating syntactic structures, presence or absence of cohesive elements, length of composition) cannot be used to assess emergent literacy, others can. Both emergent and conventional literacy can focus on process, context, and "writer," rather than solely on the product. Sulzby suggests that portfolios or collections of writing samples over time are viewed more relevant than single-shot assessments, and that children's language about and during writing is considered crucial information about their growth as writers (p. 7). Forms for recording stages of children's writing and reading seem especially promising as alternatives to testing.

Writing about "cognitively-guided instruction," Fennema, Carpenter, & Peterson (in press) underscore the importance of understanding how children arrive at answers to mathematical problems. For a teacher, knowing that a given child can respond correctly to, "What is three plus four?" may be less important than understanding the thinking that allowed the child to respond, "seven." They suggest that a child who solves the problem by modeling it with counters has a very different knowledge and ***instructional needs*** [emphasis mine] than a child who solves the same problem by counting on or by using derived facts. By helping teachers assess process, as well as product, learning and instruction can be enhanced.

Assessment, then, as it is being used, is directly linked to the improvement of pedagogy and of learning. The comment made by Chittenden & Courtney (1989) regarding their documentation strategy is apropos to instructional assessment in general:

> First, it should enhance teachers' observation and record keeping practices; it should also provide an opportunity for investigation to more theoretical questions pertaining to children's learning and reading. Second, an alternative assessment program can yield documents of pupil learning that begin to replace test scores, as accepted forms of evidence. And third, the program should foster communication between teachers, administrators, and parents.

Implementing various instructional assessment strategies represents not only a new approach to assessment, but suggests a new role for teachers. Rather than being driven by textbooks or publishers' "teacher-proof" curriculum, teachers must tailor strategies to diverse children's needs, learning styles, and interests. Such a vision returns instructional leadership to the classroom and integrates assessment and teaching. Not a conventional approach, implementing instructional assessment will require time, teacher training, and resources.

AND WHAT OF DEVELOPMENTAL SCREENING?

The assessment strategies described above can help improve pedagogy and can render important information on individual children. Another important information-yielding strategy is developmental screening. Typically, developmental screening is a brief assessment procedure, used to identify children who, because of the risk of a possible learning problem or handicapping condition, may need more intensive diagnostic assessment. Screening, as the name implies, serves as the first step in an evaluation and intervention process that is intended to help children achieve their maximum potential (Meisels, 1985). Such screening is done to help early childhood programs identify who might benefit from early intervention services and helps schools meet their responsibilities under P.L. 94-142 and P.L. 99-457. An additional purpose of such screening is, through early intervention, to prevent problems from getting worse. By identifying problems early, particularly those that are hard to detect, developmental screening can be an effective antidote to severe and silent problems.

Developmental screening is one form of assessment required before special services are rendered. But, such assessments vary. In some communities, nationally known tests (McCarthy, Denver Developmental, and Gesell) are routinely used alone for developmental screening. In other locales, the use of more than one strategy is suggested, if not required. Gradually, there is a growing emphasis on using developmentally appropriate measures, including observations of the child in his or her natural setting with the parent present. Such strategies may provide the most effective indication of potential success or failure in the learning environment (Honig, 1989). By all means, developmental screening should be done, but it should be done with care, with appropriate and multiple strategies, and with parent understanding.

POLICY, PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY, AND TESTING

Having addressed issues related to achievement and readiness testing, as well as instructional assessment and developmental screening from pedagogical and practical perspectives, I now turn to the relationship between policy, public accountability, and testing. Though bred for public good, public schools remain the constant target of ill-will and social criticism. Decade after decade, schools hurdle charges of perpetuating inequity, fostering robust inefficiencies, and producing students insufficiently trained to meet the scientific and technological demands of a changing world. For more than a decade, such dissatisfaction has manifest itself in repeated calls for accountability. As if accountability were a magic elixir, its advocates simultaneously pressed for more information and justification from schools. Student performance, teacher performance, administrator performance, and even district performance were ranked. Such an ethos perpetuated the proliferation and acquiescent acceptance of testing as an effective and accurate measure of performance. Gradually, it seemed that standardized tests came to be both the "measure and the goal of excellence for many policy-makers and school practitioners" (Darling-Hammond, in press).

Today's antitesting mood represents a backlash to well-intentioned efforts gone awry. When the press for accountability commenced, few envisioned that nearly maniacal testing might eventuate. When promulgators of Chapter I guidelines required screening for program entry, few foresaw the negative consequences of such efforts on young children. When the due process provisions of P.L. 94-142 were passed, a nation relished the fact that parents would have input into critical decisions affecting their children; few foresaw the attendant complications. The point is that none of us is sufficiently clairvoyant to accurately predict the consequences of good intentions.

I am not alone in my belief that over-testing of young children has produced more stress, more emotional insecurity, and more heartache for children and parents than all the information its numbers have ever yielded. We do need a kinder, gentler strategy.

Yet, we must also be honest in recognizing that policy in this nation is crafted based on knowledge, perceived and real. In spite of an elected "education President" and a Congress verbally committed to the care and education of young children, there is on-going need for hard data about children's performance to substantiate increased expenditures. Let us not forget that guns are lost and butter melted over inadequate and insufficient information. As good as our intentions might be, reducing test usage and dependence without substituting an adequate and acceptable data base for policy makers may boomerang back in our faces. One challenge, then, is to find inventive ways to convert the all-telling child's portfolio or the revealing observation logs of perceptive teachers into an acceptable data base for policy. Another is to elevate education out of the accountability abyss and to conceive of education as the rightful index of cultural vitality, the cornerstone of democracy, and our most worthy investment.

In the final analysis, just as no single test, no single assessment, no single screening device provides *the* answer alone, no simple or single strategy suffices. Ultimately, today, as in the past, our judgment and wisdom must prevail.

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Chapter 5

YOUNG CHILDREN AT RISK: LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND INTERVENTION

Robbin Parish
Parish School, Houston, TX

Children, our precious legacies, experience the greatest learning potential from birth to 3 years of age. The preschool, kindergarten, first- and second-grade years are the most important in developing in children learning strategies, a positive self-image, and the motivation to succeed.

If, for one reason or another, children experience delays in language development, such as difficulty in learning to speak, or in speaking, or difficulties in understanding what is said to them, they tend to lag behind other children in the regular preschool and school program. As they become aware of their differences, these children often withdraw from competition, or become frustrated and difficult to teach. Teachers and parents also become frustrated because these seemingly bright children are not keeping up with the rest of the class, may be disruptive or withdrawn, and require constant attention. Language skills, or the ability to deal with symbols and a symbol system, are the developmental learning blocks which must be intact before the children can learn to read, write, and spell.

Educators today are beginning to realize that all children do not learn the way the teachers were taught to teach! As a result, many children have become mislabeled as illiterate, learning disabled, dyslexic, retarded, slow, not living up to potential, lazy, withdrawn, hyperactive, poorly motivated, or not interested in learning.

As a speech-language pathologist in private practice, I was beginning to see these children and their families at the very end of their patience with themselves and with their children. What was happening to these children in their classrooms or mother's day out programs or even their day care environment? Why were these children suffering? Why were they beginning to hate the thought of participating with other children and interacting with their families? Why did they have feelings of such low self-esteem that they would not even try to accomplish the easiest task? Why were these seemingly normal children experiencing this sense of failure at such an early age? I had taught older "language disordered" children and had observed their low self-esteem and their inability to try, but I was now seeing this behavior in the early years. The 18-month to 3-year population was being referred, and their oral language was far below their abilities. Their self-esteem even lower. These children did not smile, did not want to participate and, according to the parents, were not happy in any situation. Their above-average abilities masked the difficulties that they were having with oral language. Their communication was primarily through behavior, either overt or withdrawn, which was not understood by the teacher, parent, or other children. When the 4-, 5-, and 6-year-old children began coming in to see me because they couldn't keep up in the preschool, kindergarten, and first grade, I became very concerned that our educational system was trying to make these children succeed academically when they were barely able to express themselves or understand the nuances of the communicative process. Were these children ready to learn or were they still in the process of learning *how* to learn and were not being instructed in the manner in which they could grasp the concepts so necessary and basic for academic success—the mastery of reading, writing, and spelling.

I observed in preschools and in kindergarten classes, I read theoretical discussions regarding the emerging language theories, and I discovered that most "regular education" teachers were not prepared to deal with the unique learning styles of each of the students. The university training programs were not preparing the teachers to identify individual learning styles or to teach students who learned differently. As a result, teachers have been taught one way to proceed. More often than not, they have learned the lecture routine in which they stand in front of the class talking about the lesson and then encourage the student to write about and to read what the teacher has just finished talking about. If the student is unable to do so, there is something wrong with the student—not necessarily the manner in which he was being taught.

Many of the teachers involved with these seemingly bright children have no idea how to handle each individual problem. As a result, children are mislabeled. The environment or the parents are blamed for the children's poor behavior. Teachers begin describing the children by the kinds of behaviors that they exhibit. The child either becomes a behavior problem or appears "not interested" in the learning process. Many times this child is not referred for an evaluation because he or she has been mislabeled as a behavior problem, and there has been no outward indication (other than behavior) that a language disorder may exist, at least not until the child is ready to read. At that time, he or she can no longer keep up with peers, the child's feelings of self-worth have deteriorated, and parents, teachers, and even the child are disgusted with his or her performance.

In reality, the signs of a pragmatic, linguistic, or perceptual language problem are there. They have not been identified! The teacher does not understand why the child cannot remember the sound symbol association, cannot follow directions, has poor attention, and is not ready or motivated to interact in the class. The child becomes more and more afraid to speak, read, or interact for fear of failure. The failure then becomes too much to surmount, and the child eventually becomes the class clown, is labeled as lazy, or withdraws from all academic pursuits. Many of these children float through grade school with their amazing defensive abilities to charm their teachers and parents. Many drop out of school at an early age, many end up in the prison system, and many, sad to say, never learn to accept their strong points and either turn to drugs or eventually commit suicide.

How does language develop and why, and what is the best remedial or intervention theory available to help all of these children who are supposedly failing in school because of their inability to learn?

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

The foundation of all academic achievement depends on the child's ability to speak and comprehend the adult language, write, spell, problem solve and perform mathematical calculations, and get along socially with his or her peers (Bangs, 1979). Children with language difficulties may be deficient in one or all of the perceptual, linguistic, or pragmatic features of oral language. They may have difficulty with remembering what has just been said or in sequencing events or in perceiving units in time and space; they may have difficulty with the production of sounds (phonology), the meaning of words, the development of vocabulary (semantics), the correct word order (syntax), and the grammar of the language (morphology). In addition, they may have difficulty in the correct use of the language or in understanding the appropriateness of a particular communicative intent. Because oral and written language have the same basic rule system, it becomes obvious that a child cannot achieve in an academic environment if oral language is deficient. As stated above, many children are misdiagnosed as dyslexic and many adults are misclassified as illiterate by caring and concerned professionals, and maybe they indeed have a reading problem or cannot read at all. But, these words only describe the symptoms of the problem, not the underlying causes. We as a nation and as education professionals need to be aware of the tremendous amount of importance that the development of oral language plays in the development of academic, personal, and social skills. Not all children will be able to develop the skills necessary for academic achievement, but with early intervention, the child will be given the opportunity to develop to his or her potential.

It is universally accepted that children progress through various stages of language development just as they progress through the motor stages of rolling over, sitting up, and walking. Many developmental specialists have chronicled children's behavior and the approximate ages at which these behaviors occur. Many other specialists, however, overlook oral language or the lack of its development and tend to comment to parents, "Don't worry, the child will outgrow it." Whatever *it* is! Children normally move from a prelinguistic phase of language development to adult linguistic functioning, which include vocabularies of several thousand words and the ability to use grammatically correct sentences. Of course, children must be able to understand what is being said to them before they can learn to use oral language meaningfully. Comprehension of oral language is basic to language expression. If the child has experienced any problem in the "normal" development of language, difficulties in academics and personal/social affairs will become quite evident. Waiting to see if the child will "outgrow" the problem can only delay the necessary intervention and perpetuates the frustration associated with not understanding the problem.

THEORIES OF INTERVENTION

In reviewing the literature on the theories of language development and intervention, it became increasingly clear that no one theory adequately described all of the children. No specific test instruments were defining the actual problems that the children were exhibiting. Each child was and is unique not only in learning style but also in the ability to relate to others: adults and children.

Although it is not my intent to go into great detail regarding all of the various theories of oral language development, I would like to call your attention to the work of Elizabeth Carrow-Woolfolk, who has done a remarkable job of presenting a comprehensive description of all of the theories of language and identifying the basic similarities and differences in these theories in order to provide an effective intervention program. in her book, *Theory Assessment and Intervention in Language Disorders*, 1988, Carrow-Woolfolk integrates these theories into a language program that will be able to meet the child's individual needs. The intervention programs she describes are based on the theories and vary with the type of child that the teacher is seeing. Of course, it is obvious that an overlap of theories in the remedial process is inevitable. For we are not seeing an isolated problem when we see a child with a language disorder. We are seeing a child who may be exhibiting bits of all theories and who requires a program of intervention delivered by a teacher or speech-language pathologist who can identify the specific problem in this particular child and devise an appropriate curriculum and treatment plan to address specific needs.

INTERVENTION THROUGH INTEGRATIVE LANGUAGE

Who will teach these children? What roles do the speech-language pathologist, the teachers, and the parents play in making sure that these children are not misdiagnosed or labeled, and what roles do we all play in motivating all of our children to succeed?

Carrow-Woolfolk (1988) identifies the prerequisites that a speech-language pathologist must have in order to prepare a plan. She states,

> it is important for the clinician to have internalized certain kinds of *knowledge* and to have developed certain kinds of *skills*. The *knowledge* to be internalized has to deal with (1) the ways in which the language impaired child differs from the normal child with respect to language and language acquisition strategies, (2) the general approaches that parents use in dealing with normal developing language, (3) the approaches that have been useful in helping the language impaired child and (4) the interaction of age, cognitive, social, and linguistic levels of intervention activities. The *skills* needed by the clinicians are applications of the knowledge and pertain to ways for eliciting language and encouraging specific kinds of language behaviors to occur in others. These skills include eliminations in the clinicians' own responses of their own behaviors that are not conducive to good communication." (pp. 282–283)

What can be done for these children? How can we as educators and, speech-language pathologists and governmental and private sector individuals prevent these children from failing? How can we as a nation address their needs and teach to their individual strengths and teach them compensation skills for their weaknesses? I believe that we at The Parish School have devised a formula that will help children as well as teachers understand the basics of language development and be able to teach to the individual child through a curriculum that includes all theoretical constructs and intervention theories that focus on the child and not on the teacher. In other words, the teacher is expected to determine how the child learns and to teach to that strength. The teacher can no longer say, "Johnny can't learn his colors." Instead the focus is, "I haven't been able to find a way to teach Johnny his colors."

A SUCCESSFUL INTERVENTION PROGRAM

The Parish School adopts the philosophy that all children learn by doing, reacting to and interacting with the environment. The children who are described above have language difficulties and had nowhere to go in Houston, Texas, until The Parish School opened its doors in April 1983. Their above-average abilities made them ineligible for the public school early childhood programs or special education. If they enrolled in a traditional school program, their difficulties often prevented them from achieving academically and developing good social personal skills. Research has indicated that if these children are identified at an early age, and if language stimulation is provided to develop the skills necessary to learn and to improve self-concept, they will learn to compensate for their differences and be able to achieve academically.

The Parish School provides a 12-month intensive language stimulation program for children, 18 months to 9 years of age. Preschool classrooms are taught by speech-language pathologists. The kindergarten, first, second, and transition classes are taught by experienced teachers. The classrooms are structured to increase communication skills—that is, the spontaneous use of meaningful, expressive language in group settings—as well as to improve the children's social, self-help, problem solving, and fine and gross motor skills. The kindergarten class is designed to strengthen the children's use of appropriate language skills and to introduce them to the next level of language—that of reading, writing, problem solving, math, and spelling. The kindergarten bridge class reinforces the language skills and attempts to bridge the learning gaps that many children have experienced.

At The Parish School, the education for each child is individualized. The teachers devise a specific plan at the beginning of each semester to meet the needs of each child. The parents meet with the teacher at the beginning and end of each semester to share goals and to discuss progress. In addition, they receive updated reports as goals are achieved.

The parents are an integral part of the school program. They participate in parent education nights, parent teacher meetings, and mother's meetings, and they follow through on recommendations at home. In addition, The Parish School has implemented the "Good News Book." Each day, the teaching assistant or the teacher writes "Good News" about the school day in the book. In return, the parents write some news about their evening at home, to be read by the teacher or reported by the child in class. This written diary provides an opportunity for the children to report verbally news sequence events, respond to the teacher's and children's questions, and interact with each other in a positive communicative environment.

The concept of a language-based preschool program is different from a traditional program because it assumes that all children do not learn in the same way. Each child has his own learning strengths and weaknesses. It is the responsibility of the teacher to determine the individual learning style and to teach it. Programmed organizational skills essential for approaching academic tasks are also taught through the arts. Weekly art lessons teach organization, sequencing, relationships, and symbols. As the child experiences success with the learning process, feelings of self-worth are strengthened and learning becomes fun!

The grounds of The Parish School, with the grape arbor, pond, vegetable garden, rose garden, and nature trail, provide opportunities for the children to seek a new adventure around each bush. Outdoor activities are an integral part of the school curriculum designed to develop language skills, problem solving skills, social skills, and fine and gross motor skills. Play helps children discover and construct information necessary for academic and personal success.

The concept of the playground is that of a vacant lot, without the basic swings and jungle gyms. Instead, children are encouraged to explore, to discover, and to construct their own play environment using wood scraps, tires, tunnels, or boxes, and the results are rewarding. The setting demands cooperative play.

The playground and surrounding campus provide unlimited space for the children. In good weather, the playground area is used as space to teach the same basic skills as in the classroom. The child becomes involved and learns through his or her body to strengthen the visual, auditory, and motor areas of development. The nature trail is used for observing changes in the seasons, collecting specimens, such as frogs, cicadas, leaves, and flowers, and, at a moment's notice, can be changed into a natural setting for a play. There is even a hill for rolling down or climbing up, and it is a wonderful place to play in the sprinkler. The Parish School is a place where each child learns by doing, experiencing, reacting to, and interacting with the physical and social world. It provides an environment that promotes the thrill of discovery through natural inquisitiveness and problem solving.

This "nurturant-naturalistic" (Carrow-Woolfolk, 1988, p. 269) approach places the teacher in the facilitator model. The teacher is responsible for following a developmental language approach and for guiding the child through each of the stages with natural reinforcement. The teacher teaches to the child's learning strength and directs the child to learn compensation techniques to handle different difficulties with specific language tasks. The strategies are taught, and the child is encouraged to use a specific strategy in the classroom, to remember, to understand, and to act upon. The child is also encouraged to tell the teacher about the way he or she learns best and to ask the teacher to give extra help by writing the assignment, letting the child record the lecture, or slowing the speed in which the teacher presents the information.

The Parish School has combined many intervention strategies to fit the child's particular difficulties based on the theory that is most applicable. We have adapted our teaching techniques to teach to the child's strengths, and we have found that all children can and want to learn. We as teachers, speech-language pathologists, and academicians need only to listen to them. They will tell us how to teach them. If we are prepared to listen and if we have the prerequisites to translate this information into an intervention plan, then we will succeed in encouraging a more literate America.

Because The Parish School is still in its infancy, there are only 20 graduates who have gone on to a regular program. All of these graduates, whom we intend to follow through college, are reported to be using the techniques and strategies taught to them at The Parish School. Reading, math, and social interaction are reported to be strengths, with weaknesses in spelling and in handwriting. As each level of academics increases in difficulty, the students must learn to use different techniques to address the obstacles. Parent and teacher reports indicate that the students are adjusting, have the self-esteem to try new things, and are willing to ask for help in the form needed!

EFFECTIVE PARTNERSHIP MODELS

How can we all work together in partnership? The Houston Committee For Private Sector Initiatives (PSI) has employed a successful partnership concept in after school care. Concerned with unsupervised, or "latchkey" children, the Child Care Subcommittee started the After School Partnership in 1983. Cooperating partners included a number of private sector sponsors as well as the Houston Independent School District and half a dozen nonprofit agencies, including the Camp Fires, Inc., Bluebonnet Council, Child Care Council of Greater Houston, the YMCA and YWCA, and the Gulf Coast Community Service Association.

Children served in this program are tutored with their homework on a daily basis. Academic enrichment and recreational activities are provided to give children numerous options. To insure high quality in these programs, PSI contracts for comprehensive in-service staff training, ongoing in-service training, and regular quality assurance monitoring and evaluation at each program site. A unique feature of the after school program is that a corporate partner may sponsor a particular school with monetary support, volunteers, technical assistance, and special equipment. In addition, each corporation also provides a representative to serve on its school's local advisory committee.

We as educators and speech-language pathologists and audiologists and the business community can form a partnership just as the Houston group has done. We can educate child care providers by establishing quality staff training and serving as consultants to those who work with children not only in the school systems but also in the day care situations. We can encourage corporations and government and the private sector to provide ***quality*** day care for all children, and we can, by working together, provide our children, our precious legacies, with all of the basic knowledge necessary for academic and personal/social success.

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Chapter 6

IOWA'S PARTNERSHIP TO HELP YOUNG CHILDREN AT RISK

William L. Lepley
Iowa Department of Education,
Des Moines

In recent years, Iowa has moved to the forefront of states attempting to create comprehensive, effective educational programs for young children. Our efforts to help young children at risk are bringing together the resources of schools, health and human service agencies, local and state government, private industry, and local communities. We are plowing new ground of collaboration to meet the needs of young children at risk—ground which covers parent education and family support programs, child care, and health, nutrition, social, and mental health services.

BACKGROUND ON IOWA STUDENTS AT RISK

In Iowa, we're taking seriously statistics such as those from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control. The CDC has released the following statistics on today's family stress:

- teen substance abuse, up 600% since 1960
- births to teen unwed mothers, up 300% since 1950
- teen suicide, up 300% since 1950
- teen homicide, up 200% for whites and up 16% for nonwhites since 1950
- single parent homes, up 500% since 1960
- divorce rate, up 100% since 1954
- children in poverty, up to 23% of all U.S. children.

We estimate that 16,000 Iowa students—about 1 in 30—are at risk of failing in Iowa's educational system today. Each year, about 5,000 Iowa students drop out of school, and at least 5,000 7th to 12th graders are potential dropouts. Expanding those figures to include students in kindergarten through grade 6 results in the 16,000 estimate, which is probably conservative. These children need a great deal of assistance beyond what they're receiving in their present programs.

The issue of students at risk is broad and complex. Many of the factors which place a student at risk in the educational setting are interrelated, and students at risk academically are often at risk emotionally, socially, and physically. The Iowa Department of Education defines a student at risk as one who is not succeeding in the educational program designed by his or her district. The criteria include students who are at risk of dropping out of school or who are doing poorly in their academic, personal, social, career, or vocational development. Their academic failure places them at risk of not becoming a contributing, productive member of society.

Virtually any student could be at risk at some point in his or her educational career, yet several signals may indicate a student is at risk. Danger signals for students at risk include:

- behind in grade level by one or more years and older than their classmates. Retained students are four times more likely to drop out of school. The blow of retention to student self-esteem is so severe as to cancel the positive effects of improved reading skills, for example.
- low achievement scores in reading, math, science, language, writing, or reasoning.
- a dislike of school, a feeling that no one wants to help.
- a lack of "connectedness," no link to an adult.
- suspension. Twenty-five percent of all dropouts have been suspended one or more times. Repeated suspensions further alienate students from school.
- pregnancy. Four of five pregnant girls drop out of school; pregnancy is the main reason females drop out.
- from a family on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).
- a strong need for employment in an entry-level job.
- no future goals for training at a community college or a four-year college.
- involvement in alcohol and other drug use.
- few friends.
- low opinion of themselves.
- language barrier or cultural barrier.
- failing grades in one or more classes.
- lack of participation in extracurricular activities.

For younger students, additional danger signals include low birth weight, low functioning in two or more developmental areas, or being the child of parents who are illiterate, abusive, high school dropouts, substance abusers, or who became parents in their teen years.

We know that students at risk usually display more than one of these danger signals. We also know that the at-risk population is by no means limited to dropouts and potential dropouts. Students can be educationally at risk of not becoming productive when they leave the school setting at graduation.

The problems of at-risk youth are interrelated, but there are ways to break the cycle. Early and sustained intervention into the lives of at-risk children is necessary. Research on dropouts points to the benefits of reaching children at risk early. Studies have shown, for example, that by the end of the third grade, it is possible to predict which students will drop out of school. According to information from the Council of Chief State School Officers, of the nearly 4 million children born in 1988, 25% began their lives already at risk of personal and educational failure because of the poverty and stress in their families. Those at risk economically have less opportunity to participate in high-quality early childhood programs, thus widening the chasm between the disadvantaged and those more fortunate.

IOWA'S EFFORTS TO HELP YOUNG CHILDREN AT RISK

In Iowa, we are beginning a serious effort to expand our services to young children. State grants that support programs for at-risk 3- and 4-year-olds in preschools, Head Start programs, and day care centers are our early attempts to create a comprehensive system of early childhood service, which includes parent education and family support programs, child care, and health, nutrition, social, and mental health services.

New School Accreditation Standards

The state's new standards for approved schools, which went into effect July 1, 1989, require each district to identify and assist students "who have difficulty mastering the language, academic, cultural and social skills necessary to reach the educational levels of which they are capable." The three steps advocated by the Department of Education are to identify students at risk, refer them for further services, and then provide the services, either internally or externally.

The identification process can be as simple as asking every staff member which students are not succeeding in their classrooms. Then the reason for the student's problems must be identified, and appropriate services recommended. Districts may need to set priorities to help students with the most need, given limited resources in many Iowa districts. But under the new state standard, districts must ultimately supply services to all students at risk. Why the student is not succeeding is the difficult issue in identification. It often affects how to intervene with programs and services. Districts have the flexibility to develop their own ways to meet the needs of a student at risk.

While the standard went into effect this year, school districts are being allowed a phase-in period for implementing their at-risk programs. School boards must adopt a plan for implementing the standard over not more than a three-year period, with year one to take effect immediately. The plan should address nine elements at all levels of instruction, K-12. The elements are identification of students, supplemental instruction for students, involvement of all school personnel, staff inservice, parent involvement, monitoring system, counseling services, community coordination, and compliance with nondiscrimination requirements. Department of Education staff members have developed a planning worksheet and implementation guide to help school districts assess their services to at-risk students and to develop plans to meet students' needs.

Grants and Legislative Appropriations

Other key policy elements in place in Iowa include special legislation and elements of Iowa's school funding formula. Important facets of these include:

1. By July 1, 1990, the State Board of Education will develop standards for early childhood and early elementary certification and facility, class size, and pupil-teacher ratios.
2. The Department of Education will develop standards and instructional materials to help districts:
   - develop before and after school programs for elementary children;
   - develop child care services;
   - develop appropriate curricula for all-day, every-day kindergarten and for grades 1-3;
   - help prekindergarten instructors develop appropriate curricula and teaching practices.
3. The Iowa Child and Family Policy Center is a 27-member, broad-based committee designed to provide stronger links between public policy makers and research on issues affecting children and their families. This group is charged with developing recommendations to meet the needs of at-risk youth and preventing future welfare dependency. Technical assistance, oversight, and support to Iowa program initiatives are provided through the center.
4. In 1989, 24 Child Development Grants were funded with $1.2 million in state funds. The Child Development Coordinating Council, a nine-member interagency council created in 1988, oversees this new initiative. A Head Start model is used, which involves emphasis on child development provision of child care. These 24 programs recently began a National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) self-study, an intensive, nationally recognized assessment to validate what kinds of experiences children and parents are having in the program. The self-study process must be completed by March 1990.
5. In fiscal year 1989, early childhood consultant in the Department of Education and a child development specialist in the Department of Human Rights were hired, and a second early childhood consultant in the Department of Education was hired in fiscal year 1990.
6. The Department of Education will coordinate the development of a statewide technical assistance support network.

Iowa policy makers have made a commitment to helping young students at risk. Funding in this area includes $8.7 million for 1990-91 and $11.2 million for 1991-92. Of the $8.7 million targeted for 1990-91, $3 million has been allocated to the Department of Education for grants for elementary schools with the greatest needs for at-risk

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programs; $4.62 million was allocated to Iowa's Child Development Coordinating Council for programs for 3- to 5-year-old at-risk students and support services for children from birth to age 3; and $275,000 was allocated to Iowa area education agencies (intermediate service units) to fund aid to districts in developing early childhood program plans and budgets.

Emphasis on Local Options

By law, Iowa districts must offer a kindergarten program, but the state sets no standards for curriculum, number of hours, or staffing. School districts have been allowed to design kindergarten and prekindergarten programs based on the needs of their own communities. Today, Iowa's 431 districts use 11 different options for kindergarten programs, ranging from all day, to alternate day programs. Over 150 districts offer all day, every day kindergarten.

An effort is now underway to assess local needs across the state. By October 1, 1989, local school boards must assemble a committee to review the need for all day, every day kindergarten, prekindergarten, before and after school child care, and child care during holidays and vacations. This committee must include a community-wide cross-section of those who provide services and programs to young children.

These local committees are to gather information about what presently exists and how it serves the children and families of the district. They are to describe the unmet needs and make recommendations to their local boards, which are to be sent to the state Department of Education. The Department will synthesize the information and send it to the legislature so that local needs can guide policy makers in developing support for early childhood programs.

OUR GREATEST SUCCESSES

These broad policy initiatives show the commitment of state leaders to helping all Iowa children at risk, from birth through adults. But our greatest successes are occurring every day as local communities put these initiatives at work to help their own.

One example is in Waterloo, an Iowa city of about 75,000, plagued by economic problems in the last decade. People in the Waterloo community took advantage of the 24 Child Development Grants to create a comprehensive program to help young children at risk. Grin and Grow is a licensed, private, nonprofit day care center. Through a $52,800 grant, Grin and Grow is providing full-day, full-year services to 16 3- and 4-year-olds and their families. The kids are involved in a 3½ hour instructional program, with the remainder of the day spent in high-quality child care at the same facility. The program includes developmentally appropriate curriculum, child care, transportation to and from the center, parent involvement, and medical and dental screening—using the staff and facility resources of the day care center, the Waterloo school district, and the local Head Start program. A parent specialist works closely with each child's family, visiting the home to assess the family's strengths, needs, and resources. The specialist refers parents for further support, education, job training, and other services when needed. Although the program is still less than a year old, its successes are impressive: of the parents of 16 children, one has so far obtained a GED, and seven have entered work and training programs they were not involved with before the program. The day-to-day successes are helping children get through crisis periods and helping parents succeed at the difficult job of parenting.

CONCLUSION

This is just one part of the story of Iowa's commitment and success in serving young children at risk. There are many more. We realize that our work is only beginning, and that while the educational system cannot do it alone, it can be a leader in helping young children at risk. Coordination and collaboration combined with effective leadership form the cornerstone of these efforts.

Chapter 7

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY IN AN INFORMATION AGE

Senator Paul Simon
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC

I thank you very, very much for the introduction, Gil [Gilbert Herer, ASHA President]. I thank all of you for what you are doing, and, if I may be more specific, I thank you all for what you have done to help with passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The speech-language pathologists and audiologists of this country, represented by you, were in there fighting for this piece of legislation. It has now passed the Senate, and it is over in the House. It has some complications in the House. One of the complications is that the rules are different in the House, and it has been referred now to seven different House committees. It means that to get it passed in the House, we're going to have to have your continued interest and support. I am sure it will be there.

One other piece of legislation, since I understand that part of the theme of your conference is partnerships, is a job training partnership act which I have introduced. It has bipartisan cosponsorship, has emerged from committee, and will be voted on probably in October or early November in the Senate. It calls for greater targeting, because there is just no question that we have been doing some creaming in the T Job Training Partnership Act program, and says let's focus on those who are really hard to employ. It includes stressing basic skills and some other things that, frankly, we have not done enough of. I am pleased to say that I have worked with Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole on this, and I think we are going to have a bill that will receive strong bipartisan support in the Senate and, I hope, in the House. And, the indications are that the President will sign the bill.

You mentioned P.L. 94-142 in your introduction, Gil, and I assume with this audience I do not need to explain what P.L 94-142 is. Let me just relate one little story because I think it says something about why it is important for all of us to be involved. I was involved in the Presidential effort, some of you may recall. When I withdrew, one of the reporters asked, "What was the high point of the campaign?" "Well, it is such a varied experience I had a hard time pinpointing what was really the high point." But, I said, "I think the high point came at Hamilton High School in Milwaukee, Wisconsin." Anyone here from Milwaukee? Okay, well, you know where Hamilton High School is. Well, the people there knew I was involved in creating P.L. 94-142. And they arranged for a chorus of mentally retarded young people to sing for me. First they recited, in unison, the preamble to the Constitution. Pretty impressive for a group of mentally retarded young people. Then they sang "This is My Country." Let me tell you, I had a group of about 15 reporters following me who sometimes get to be pretty cynical. When I looked over at them I did not see a dry eye, and I was all choked up. I looked at those young people and I thought if we had not passed that legislation, probably half of them would be in institutions today. Are they worthwhile, the efforts that you and I make in this whole field? Just look at that group at Hamilton High School and you know the answer. You bet it is.

One of the areas where we have to do a much better job in this country is this whole area of literacy. We have about 23 million Americans who either cannot read and write at all, or barely can. I got interested in this really by accident. I was serving in the House, and I used to have open office hours, go from community to community where people who had one problem or another would come and talk to me. But, if there is a problem with some Federal aid, whether it is Social Security, black lung in the coal mine territory, or whatever it is, you have to get a consent form to look at the records that people have. Understandably, the Federal Government does not just want people browsing around in people's records. And so, I would hand these consent forms to people and every once in a while someone would say "Is it okay if my wife signs?" "Is it okay if my husband signs?" And then every once in a while I would see people very carefully draw their names, and I knew that was the only thing they could write. So I started getting interested in the subject of illiteracy. One other thing I did was, when people would come saying they were desperate for a job, I would ask that simple question, "Can you read and write?" When there was that awkward moment of silence, I knew what the answer was going to be because people hide it, they do not want to admit to anyone that they cannot read and write. Anyway, I then held the first hearings in Congress on the question of illiteracy. Ted Bell, the former Secretary of Education, tells this story, "I was Secretary of Education, but I hadn't paid any attention to illiteracy, and Paul Simon came and asked me to testify, and when I started preparing my testimony I realized the kind of problem we have."

Out of 158 nations in the United Nations, we're 49th in our literacy rate. And that comes from the richest nation on the face of the earth. Well, I have been able to get some little things going. We are spending a couple of million dollars there on a Vista Literacy Corps. I got the Library Services and Construction Act through. It includes a literacy effort, and we spend about 5 million dollars a year there. Incidentally, the reason for Vista and literacy and some of these other things on literacy is that people who do not know how to read and write, with very rare exceptions, hide it. Sometimes, they try even to hide it from their families, certainly from their neighbors. They are not just going to walk into a grade school or a high school and say, "I can't read and write, can you help me?" But, they will walk into a library. They will walk into a church or a synagogue basement. We have to create the kind of situation they can approach without feeling stigmatized. I was able to get some college work study money there for students. But, we have just tinkered at the edges, and so I felt there was a need to move in a more massive way. I have put together a bill that says let's spend between $225 and $300 million on this, and this is money, incidentally, we are going to get back so rapidly, it is just amazing. You increase the productivity and the earning capacity of people when they learn how to read and write, or improve their very limited skills.

We are also calling for some coordination between Cabinet levels. One of the persons who consistently talks about illiteracy is always the Secretary of Labor. It so happens that the jurisdiction of the Labor and Human Resources Committee is both labor and education. Whether it is Elizabeth Dole or Bill Brock, or whoever the Secretary of Labor is, they come in and pretty soon they are talking about illiteracy. You just cannot face the unemployment problems without facing that particular problem. It is more than just statistics, it is not just 23 million people.

Let me tell you about two people. I had a town meeting in Teutopolis, Illinois. Anyone from Illinois here? Oh, obviously the most intelligent, highly educated members of this group. I don't know if any of you know where Teutopolis, Illinois, is. It's down near Effingham, Illinois. Anyway, it is a town of maybe 750 people. We had a Town Hall meeting, maybe 50 people gathered there. At Town Hall meetings, people say things, or ask questions, whatever they want to do. This woman got up, she said, "I'm 45 years old, I've never stood before a group like this before." She was obviously nervous. She said, "I want to read you the first letter I have ever written." And she started to read this letter which just told her life story. And it was a moving situation. She was crying before she was through, and she had half the Town Hall meeting crying. When she finished, I said to her (her name is Gloria Waddles), "Gloria, would you be willing to come to Washington and testify before a Senate Subcommittee." She said she would. She came. When she finished, Senator Nancy Kasenbaum, Republican Senator from Kansas, leaned over to me and said, "I know I'm a Senator. I am not supposed to cry, but I couldn't help it." Senator Howard Metzenbaum from Ohio tried to get her on the Today Show the next day, unfortunately without success. But, there was a little item in the *Washington Post* about her testimony.

If you are a football fan, you will recognize this next name. A man named Dexter Manley touched base with us and told us his story and thanked us. At first we asked him whether he would testify, and he first said, "No," but then he did agree to testify. And he came and told his story. Dexter Manley is an all-pro football player for the Washington Redskins. Since he plays defense, he was on the sidelines and the offense was on the field, when Joe Theismann, the quarterback for the Washington Redskins, broke his leg. Dexter Manley was making $600,000 a year, but he asked himself, "What happens to me if I break my leg?" He called a Washington school the next day and said, "I need help." They tested him. He read at the second grade level. Here is a man who had been through grade school, high school, and four years at Oklahoma State University. That says something about our college athletic programs. But, they also tested and found out that he had a learning disability. Dexter Manley now reads at the ninth grade level, he is studying Japanese. For Gloria Waddles and for Dexter Manley, the chains have been broken, their life is dramatically different, and there are millions of Gloria Waddles and Dexter Manleys out there.

What we have to do is break those chains. We have to bring this issue out into the open. At the age of 60, I can remember when I was first in the state legislature, and we worked on the problems of the mentally retarded. At that point, generally, the retarded were almost literally put in closets. You just did not bring it out into the open. What we have to do is bring this literacy problem out in the open, to encourage other people like Dexter Manley and Gloria Waddles to stand up and say, "Let's do something." There is no reason, for example, when someone signs up for welfare or unemployment compensation, that we should not find out whether that person can read and write, and then offer him or her the chance to be lifted. There are all kinds of opportunities, if we make a priority out of it, and we ought to make a priority out of it.

Right now there is a great concentration on the problem of drugs in our society, as there should be. We are 5% of the world's population, and we consume 50% of the world's illegal drugs. We are focusing, frankly, primarily on the dramatic and the short-term answers. We have to look at law enforcement and those kinds of things, but we also better look at the long-term things. We ought to be looking at education. But, we also ought to be looking at the things that cause problems in our society.

The great division in our society is not between Black and White, not between Hispanic and Anglo, not even between rich and poor. It is between people who have hope and people who have given up. What we have to do is give that spark of hope to people. You give that spark of hope to people and, my friends, you are going to see a decline in the use of these illegal drugs. I just think that is the fundamental reality. What we have to do is provide that spark. You provide it in two ways, either finding a job that is meaningful, and we ought to be doing more about that, particularly in the pockets of poverty in our society; and the second is to see either themselves or their children move ahead educationally. That means that we are going to have to, as a nation, make a much greater priority of education. I have just talked about literacy, one aspect of it. There is a great deal more that needs to be done. We have to give that spark of hope to people, and, my friends, we can do it if we have the will to do it. Go back to those students at Hamilton High School; I remember that when we passed the legislation (P.L. 94-142), there were those who said, "This isn't going to do any good, you're not going to reach anybody. We're going to lower the quality of teaching." The scenario of all the things that were going to go wrong was a long one. But, there were people like you who said, "Let's move ahead, let's give people greater opportunity," and we did it and we're a better nation for it. If we do it in the area of literacy, we are going to be a better nation for it, too. Thank you, very, very much.

Chapter 8

FROM LANGUAGE TO READING AND READING TO LANGUAGE

JEANNE S. CHALL
Harvard University,
Cambridge, MA

The dependence of literacy on language is so universally accepted that hardly anyone would question it. After all, when we read and write we concentrate on the words, not on the punctuation marks or on the spaces between the words.

The dependence of literacy on language is illustrated most keenly by the great difficulty most hearing-impaired persons have with the acquisition and uses of reading and writing, which seems to follow the difficulty they experience in their acquisition of language.

And yet there are other examples indicating that literacy does not necessarily follow from language development. Indeed, in some developing countries more than half of the people are effective in communicating with others—using language that is acquired by all humans. But reading and writing usually have to be taught and learned. Thus, oral language can be viewed as the more natural human accomplishment. Yet both oral and written language do not come full-blown at birth. Both develop with time, and literacy, particularly at a high level of proficiency, comes only after long years of education and practice.

I will be concerned in this paper with how literacy, particularly reading, develops from its beginnings to its most mature forms and how this development is related to the development of language. I will also consider how difficulties in acquiring literacy are related to certain difficulties or lacks in language acquisition.

HOW READING DEVELOPS

Some scholars have viewed reading as essentially the same from its beginnings to its most mature forms. Others have viewed it as a process that changes as it develops (see Anderson, Hiebert, Scott, & Wilkinson, 1985; Chall, 1983a; Chall & Stahl, 1985; Goodman & Goodman, 1979; LaBerge & Samuels, 1977; Perfetti, 1985; Smith, 1985).

Each viewpoint leans on theory to support its view. From my study of the issue, there is more evidence from research and successful practice for a developmental view. What recommends a developmental view most is its usefulness. It provides help in what and when to teach, for developing reading materials and tests, and for ways to find and diagnose those with reading difficulties.

In *Stages of Reading Development* (Chall, 1983a), which is being used in planning school-wide reading curricula and instructional materials, the construction of reading tests, and research, I have proposed a developmental scheme that includes six stages, from 0 to 5, covering prereading to highly skilled reading. I will present a very brief outline of the six stages of development, referring broadly to the reading/language relationships that exist at each of the levels. In the section that follows, I present the broad patterns of language development.

Stage 0, Prereading, from birth to about age 6, is characterized by growing control over language. Current estimates are that avearge 6-year-olds can speak or understand about 5,000 words. During the prereading stage, most children living in a literate society acquire some knowledge and insight into print, and learn to recognize letters, common signs, and common words. Many can write their names and pretend they can read a story that has been read to them several times.

Stage 1, Initial Reading or Decoding (Grades 1 to 2), involves the alphabetic principle—developing skills and insight into sound-letter relations and into the decoding of words not recognized immediately. Children learn to recognize the words in their books and to "understand" the material they read. But what they can read at this stage is considerably below what they can understand in speech. Their ability to decode and recognize printed words is limited but growing rapidly.

Stage 2, Confirmation, Fluency, and Ungluing from Print (Grades 2 to 3), consolidates what students have learned earlier in the recognition of words and in the use of decoding skills to help them gain further insight into the reading and comprehending of familiar texts. By the end of this stage, they have developed fluency and ease in recognizing words, in "sounding" others they do not recognize immediately, and in "predicting" still others from context. The material that they can read fluently is basically within their knowledge linguistically and cognitively.

Stage 3, Learning the New (Grades 4 to 8), marks the beginning of reading as a tool for acquiring knowledge, feelings, values, insights, and attitudes. It is at this stage that the books students read go beyond their everyday vocabularies, beyond their background knowledge, and beyond simple narrative presentation.

Stage 4, Multiple Viewpoints (high school), requires more complex language and cognitive abilities, since the reading tasks involve more complex texts in many more advanced content areas. Students are also required to comprehend varying viewpoints at ever greater depth.

Stage 5, Construction and Reconstruction (college level), the most mature stage, is characterized by a world view. Students read books and articles in the detail and depth that they need for their own purposes. Readers in Stage 5 know what not to read as well as what to read. Reading here is basically constructive. From reading what others say, students construct knowledge for their own use.

From these very brief characterizations, one can see qualitative changes from stage to stage, with a major qualitative change at Stage 3, which marks the end of the primary grades (the early childhood years) and beginning of the intermediate grades. Stages 0, 1, and 2 can be said to represent the oral tradition, in that text read at these stages rarely goes beyond the language and knowledge that the reader has previously acquired through listening and direct experience. Stages 3, 4, and 5 (Grades 4 and beyond) may be viewed as comprising the literary tradition—when the reading content, as well as the language read, goes beyond what is already known.

Thus, reading at Stage 3 can be seen as the beginning of a long progression in the reading of texts that become ever more complex, literary, abstract, and technical, and that require more worldly knowledge and ever more sophisticated language and cognitive abilities. The materials that are typically read at Grade 4 and beyond show distinctive changes in content, in linguistic complexities, and in the cognitive demands on the reader when compared to those generally read in Grades 1 to 3.

It is important to note that teachers and other school personnel have long been aware of this distinction. They have often considered the primary grades as the time for "learning to read" and the intermediate and upper elementary grades as a time of "reading to learn." In the early grades, the main task is to bring students' word recognition and decoding up to their more advanced linguistic and cognitive levels. From Grade 4 on, the main task is to raise students' language and cognitive abilities to meet the demands of their texts—a more difficult task, indeed.

Reading stages can contribute to a better understanding of how reading is acquired and how the total environment, as well as the school environment and instruction, may be made optimal for pupils at the different stages. For example, most children who enter first grade (beginning of Stage 1) need to acquire a knowledge of the alphabetic principle—how the letters relate to the sound of the language, or how to "sound out" words. While some children may discover this principle by themselves, the research evidence over the past 70 years is overwhelming that direct instruction is needed and contributes to better development of decoding, word recognition, *and* comprehension, and provides a better transition to later reading stages (Anderson, Hiebert, Scott, & Wilkinson, 1985; Chall, 1967, 1983b; Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1986; Perfetti 1985). This is because the relations between sounds and letters are usually not discovered by most children, particularly those at high risk, without instruction. Toward the end of the decoding stage, the knowledge and skills acquired can become self-generative. That is, some growth can be achieved with practice on one's own.

Stage 2 (Grades 2 and 3), the development of fluency, requires a great deal of reading and practice. This suggests the necessity for providing many books to be read in addition to texts and workbooks.

With the skills and abilities acquired in Stages 1 and 2, the focus of reading instruction in the middle grades should be on literature and on reading in the various subject areas—textbooks, reference works, and other sources.

While a developmental theory does not prescribe methods, it does suggest the need for certain practices in order for more advanced levels of achievement to take place. Thus, it would appear that a global and playful approach, while suitable for developing "readiness" and "emergent" skills in preschool and kindergarten, would be less effective in Grades 1 and 2, when children need to acquire decoding and word recognition skills and should be reading many books to gain fluency (Stahl & Miller, in press).

For the intermediate grades (Stage 3), or earlier if children are more advanced, instruction in reading should go beyond the familiar in content, in language, and in thought. Therefore, reading instruction needs to be given not only from reading textbooks, but from library books and from texts and books in social studies, science, health, and literature. For most children, a greater focus on word meanings is needed since their reading materials contain a greater proportion of abstract, technical, and literacy words not known to them.

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Paula Menyuk (1988) has described the following sequence in language development: from ages 1 to 3, the average child acquires from 2,000 to 3,000 lexical items (words); from 3 to 5, children can rhyme words, reconstruct segmented words familiar to them, and have command of basic morphological rules; from 5 to 8, children learn more complex phonological aspects of language—segmenting words into sounds, blending separate sounds into words—and they learn more elaborate syntactic structures; from age 8 on up, they develop further in the various aspects of language—pragmatics, semantics, and syntax.

If the reading and language sequences are compared, it can be seen that language development generally precedes reading development until about age 8, Grade 3, and that the particular language skills needed for beginning reading are usually available to most children who are progressing normally in language. But what some may lack is the needed phonological competencies—hearing separate sounds in words and blending them to form words—abilities needed for learning the relation between sounds and letters, a fundamental aspect of learning to read an alphabetic language.

It is also important to note that as reading develops, it requires different strengths in language—and further contributes to the development of language. For example, for the prereading stage, Stage 0, most children seem to have the language base necessary to learn to read common words and labels, the letters of the alphabet, and to recognize and write one's name.

For acquiring the first formal steps in reading (Stage 1, Grade 1), the lexical abilities of most children are more than sufficient for the reading tasks required. What they need to learn is to associate spoken and written words, the names of the letters, and how they are related to the sounds of the language (the alphabetic principle—i.e., which letters stand for which sounds in words). Some children may acquire it a bit later than needed for reading, but it can usually be learned if properly taught.

During the fluency stage, Stage 2, language proficiency is also important, because familiarity with and automatic use of a larger lexicon and more developed syntax facilitate word recognition and automaticity.

With Stage 3 (Grade 4 and up), language takes on a greater importance in reading and writing since the language in the reading materials goes beyond the familiar oral language and requires more advanced cognitive responses. Reading materials used in Stages 3, 4, and 5 (Grade 4 and beyond) contain words that are abstract, less frequent, specialized, and technical—words learned mainly through reading. Thus, from Stage 3 on, one may say that reading instruction and practice contribute to the development of language. During Stages 0, 1, and 2 (up to Grade 3), language development tends to contribute more to reading development, although here, too, what is learned about letter/sound relations and the alphabetic principle in reading instruction can contribute to language development.

CHILDREN AT RISK

I will consider next the development of reading in relation to the development of language among children at risk—children who lag behind in literacy because of their low socioeconomic level or because of reading and learning disabilities. Both have two characteristics in common: their reading achievement lags behind that expected for their age (i.e., their achievement is below national norms), and their reading achievement lags behind their potential (i.e., they have the intellectual capacity to do better).

For children from low-income families, the stages of literacy development seem to be much the same as for their more advantaged peers—print skills are critical for their success in the early grades, with language and cognition more essential later on. However, if some aspect of language or literacy is delayed by conditions at home or in school, these delays can affect their later development as well (Chall, 1983a; Perfetti, 1985; Stanovich, 1986).

A study of children from low-income families in Grades 2 to 7 provides support for this hypothesis (Chall & Jacobs, 1983; Chall & Jacobs, in press; Chall & Snow, 1982). When the children were tested at the end of the second grade, they scored, as a group, at grade level on all reading and vocabulary tests. A year later, at the end of third grade, they were still at, or very close to, grade level. By the end of fourth grade, however, scores for these children on three of the tests—word meaning, word recognition, and spelling—had slipped below grade norms. By Grade 7, most of the children were substantially below grade level on all tests, including accuracy of oral reading and silent reading comprehension.

The writing development of these children followed the same pattern as their reading—stronger development in Grades 2 and 3, with decelerated gains from Grades 4 to 7. Overall, the students were strong in ideas but weak in organization, structure, and form. Interestingly, similar trends were reported by Shaugnessy (1977) in the writing of at-risk college students—difficulty with syntax and structural forms rather than with ideas.

A longitudinal study of low-income children in Grades 1 through 4 reported recently by Juel (1988) helps us to understand further trends in these children's literacy development. Juel found that children who entered Grade 1 with little awareness about the relationships among words, letters, and sounds were children who experienced problems in learning to read. And when children experienced reading failure in Grade 1, the probability was quite high that they were still having problems in Grade 4.

Hence, findings from studies of low-income children's language and literacy development support the view that language is related to literacy differently at different points of development. When children first learn to read, at age 5 or 6, most native speakers have sufficient lexical and syntactic development to cope with the reading material and reading tasks expected of them. Those children who experience difficulty at the beginning usually have difficulty with the phonological aspects of language and the alphabetic principle—that is, hearing rhymes, hearing the separate sounds in words, blending them to form words, and relating them to print. Research also suggests that when given good instruction in these aspects of reading, low-income children progress as expected in the primary grades, since the reading and writing tasks in those grades deal with language that they already have.

When reading and writing tasks become more complex (requiring fluency as well as knowledge of less familiar words and language patterns), at about Grade 4, linguistic and cognitive demands become greater. The materials to be read are no longer familiar, and knowledge of word meanings and problem-solving skills have stronger roles to play in reading. And, if instruction does not meet their needs in these areas, children of low socioeconomic status who were successful initially may begin to falter.

CHILDREN WITH READING AND LEARNING DISABILITIES

Children with reading and learning disabilities have been referred to by a variety of labels—poor readers, disabled readers, or as having specific or developmental language disabilities. More recently the term *dyslexia* has had wider use, although in federal law P.L. 94-142, the term *learning disability* is still used.

Estimates based on research over several decades are that from 10 to 15% of the population fall within this category—that is, their reading and writing achievement is significantly below their intellectual capacities. Why this is so has been the subject of psychological, medical, and educational research for more than 100 years (Chall & Peterson, 1986).

During the 1940s and 1950s, the predominant casual theory was a psychiatric one. Recognition of social and emotional disturbances in reading-disabled children lead many to assume that individual or family therapy was needed before a child could make progress in reading.

During the 1960s and 1970s, neurological theories of reading disabilities, which place the major cause on differences in the development and organization of the brain, became increasingly popular. Although first proposed in the United States by Orton (1937), the neurological view became more prevalent as scientific knowledge and technology advanced. Neurological factors, such as premature birth, perceptual-motor development, and difficulty with sequencing and blending of sounds, were identified as significant for reading failure in young children (deHirsch, Jansky, & Langford, 1966; Jansky & deHirsch, 1972). Brain study following the accidental death of a young man who had suffered from severe reading disability since childhood revealed abnormalities in those areas known to deal with language (Galaburda & Kemper, 1979). And several types of reading disability were associated with different language difficulties (e.g., see Doehring, Trites, Patel, & Fiedorowicz, 1981).

Although the instructional implications of a neurological view of reading disability have not been straightforward (e.g., see Chall & Peterson, 1986), Orton's recommendation for a highly structured, direct phonics procedure to help severely disabled students who have difficulties in dealing with printed symbols is one that is still followed in some remedial programs. Treatment of deficits associated with reading and writing difficulties (e.g., gross and fine motor coordination, memory, attention, auditory discrimination and perception, and so on) has also been used as a remedial approach. Deficit training is based on the assumption that reading and writing difficulties are "mere symptoms" that will go away as these more basic deficits in psychological processing are improved. Deficit training has become less prevalent, however, due to research that questions its effectiveness (e.g., see Arter & Jenkins, 1979; Chall, 1978), although specific focus continues on the oral language development of those preschool children who lag significantly behind their peers in literacy development (Rice, 1989).

In contrast to single-factor explanations of reading and related language disabilities, such as the social-emotional or neuropsychological, the treatment followed today in most schools and university clinics is based on a multifactor view (e.g., see Chall & Curtis, 1987). Prevalent since the 1920s—beginning with the work of Gray (1922) and Gates (1922)—a multifactor view assumes that any of several factors can "cause" difficulties in learning to read or write: inadequate methods of teaching, insufficient time spent on reading and writing, family circumstances, differences in brain organization, and so on. Beyond the underlying causes, however, a multifactor approach assumes that the academic difficulties of children with a reading or related language disability can be treated directly, through individual testing and use of methods and materials based on the strengths and weaknesses in the relevant language and literacy skills that are uncovered (see also Brown & Compione, 1986).

When considering reading, this means a diagnostic and remedial focus on such components as accuracy and fluency in word identification, breadth and depth of knowledge of word meanings, success in literal and inferential understanding of what has been read, application of strategies for monitoring and improving understanding (e.g., see Roswell & Natchez, 1989).

Up to this point, I have described some of the theories and research related to why two different groups of children—those from low-income families and those with reading and related language and learning disabilities—are at risk for academic success because of their reading and writing difficulties. In the sections that follow, I would like to give a brief overview of some features of instruction that research has shown to be effective with both of these groups.

EARLY INTERVENTION

Prevention of reading failure even before formal instruction begins goes back at least 60 years. The early studies, called studies of reading readiness, were influenced by child development research that found there was an optimal time for learning various tasks.

The first readiness study in reading (Morphett & Washburne, 1931) found that mental age was the best predictor of beginning reading success and recommended a mental age of $6\frac{1}{2}$ as the optimal time for beginning reading instruction. Gates (1937), on the other hand, found that the minimal mental age for beginning reading varied with the instructional program, the teacher, and the learning environment. With better methods, easier materials, and well-organized teaching, even a mental age of 5 was sufficient for learning to read.

Gates notwithstanding, from the 1930s to the early 1960s, schools tended to delay formal teaching for those children who were presumed to lack readiness, even though there seemed to be no controlled studies that supported such an approach. Research in the 1960s and 1970s, however, suggested that early intervention is more effective than delay. Studies of children who read early, before they entered school (Durkin, 1974–75), along with studies on the effectiveness of Head Start (Zigler & Valentine, 1979), and the improved reading scores on the national assessment of the 1980 cohort of 9-year-olds, who had an earlier, more systematic, start in reading instruction than the 1970 cohort (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1985), all pointed to the value of early intervention.

Most recently, work in the area of "emergent literacy" has reminded us that very young children know much about language and literacy, particularly when those children come from linguistically rich environments (e.g., see Teale & Sulzby, 1986). However, research on emergent literacy has had little to say about children who may lack readiness skills and the kinds of intervention that may be necessary with them. Other studies do suggest, on the other hand, that if one waits for readiness skills to emerge, and does not intervene, the child at risk will not make it (e.g., see Juel, 1988). Moreover, the nature of the intervention may make a difference (see Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989; Slavin & Madden, 1989). In particular, programs that provide children at risk with good oral language skills do not seem to have as much effect over time as those that provide systematically early instruction in reading. Based on their work in this area, Slavin and his associates (Slavin & Madden, 1989) have concluded that:

> Well-structured preschool and kindergarten programs can prepare students to learn to read in 1st Grade, but perhaps the most important single element of prevention is to use programs in 1st Grade to ensure students who do not make adequate progress in reading will receive immediate and intensive assistance. (p. 11)

Slavin and his associates have further noted that instructional strategies found to be successful with low achievers are often similar to ones found to be effective for all children.

LATER INTERVENTION

The factors related to literacy development after the primary levels, among low-income students, are similar to the factors contributing to success for all the children: a good, strong start in the primary grades, followed in the intermediate and upper elementary grades by instruction using challenging materials in reading and content areas, time spent on vocabulary development and on writing, and the reading of stimulating trade books that vary widely in content and difficulty. (See Chall & Jacobs, in press, for the research on low-income children, and Chall, 1987, for a review of the research on "all" children.)

Overall, intervention studies in the intermediate and higher grades show that direct and explicit instruction in identifying words, if still needed (e.g., see Chall, 1967; 1983b), in unknown word meanings and background knowledge (e.g., see Snider, 1989), and in strategies such as summarizing and generating questions (e.g., see Palincsar & Brown, 1984) can improve the reading achievement of children at risk. Furthermore, when instruction in comprehension strategies involves learning to construct a dialogue around a text, oral language skills of children at risk may be affected as well.

With respect to writing, direct instruction in spelling and handwriting has led to improvements for learning-disabled students (see review by Lynch & Jones, 1989). Interventions that are more process-oriented—such as teaching strategies for planning and revising—have also proven to be promising (Lynch & Jones, 1989). This latter result is consistent with Hillcocks's (1986; 1987) more general finding that writing instruction that is explicit and direct is more effective than that which is more "natural" and indirect.

What we need to remember is that the vast majority of children who lag behind in reading and writing can be helped—whether they are behind because of a less academically stimulating home or school environment or because of a learning disability that may or may not be neurologically based. The research on both groups of children points to the benefits of instruction that is designed to raise their level of reading and writing development. For those not at risk, a facilitative but noninterventionist view of literacy may be effective. But, for children at risk, a more formal, "direct" kind of instruction, aimed at building on their strengths while addressing their needs, has been shown to be most beneficial.

To conclude, the relationship between language and reading and writing development is an important one; yet the relationship differs according to the level of literacy development and the difficulties experienced by the student. Thus, for some levels of literacy and for some kinds of students, certain aspects of language need to be improved in order to facilitate literacy development. Yet for many, the best way to improve literacy is to work directly on the necessary components of reading and writing, which may indirectly also improve their language development. For still other levels and kinds of students, the best gains in literacy come from instruction in both literacy and language.

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Chapter 9

ROLES OF THE SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGIST IN DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN'S PURSUIT OF LITERACY

Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar
*University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, MI*

The participants in this conference share an interest in populations that have been variously characterized as high-risk, poor, low-achieving, special, and disadvantaged. Despite the terminology suggestive of differences among these children, the burden shared by all of them is that they enter school unequipped with literacy-related knowledge and skill, and experience difficulty acquiring this knowledge and skill in such a fashion that they can use literacy tools to enhance their own knowledge.

It is useful to conceptualize literacy as lying along a continuum from the mechanical reproduction of letters in writing or the decoding of letter combinations in reading to higher order reasoning skills, such as interpreting meaning, applying knowledge to new situations, generating solutions to novel problems, and, in the words of Brufee, participating in "the conversation of mankind." I suspect that each participant in this conference shares the belief that all children are entitled to participate successfully in each point of the literacy continuum.

In this paper I would like to draw a profile of the disadvantaged learner by considering those factors that have traditionally been assumed to cause, contribute to, or exacerbate the problems of these children and preclude their full participation in school-based literacy experiences. Furthermore, I would like to suggest the implications that this profile has for the speech-language pathologist as a communication specialist. I will categorize these factors in the following manner: language and metalinguistics, preschool experiences, differential instruction, metacognition, and attributional processes.

LANGUAGE AND METALINGUISTICS

Twenty years ago it was commonplace to assert that children of low socioeconomic and minority families began school deficient in language ability when compared with children from middle-class families. The research of psycholinguists and ethnographers suggests that while the language of these children might be different, it is, in fact, very complex, and, indeed, these children's mastery of language is as complete as it is for middle-class children (Hart, Guthrie, & Winfield, 1980; Snow, 1983). However, it is still the case that social class differences in the achievement of literacy are large and reliable (see reviews by Anastasiow, Hanes, & Hanes, 1982; Stubbs, 1980).

There is an enigma posed by the fact that significant social class differences have not been detected in measures of vocabulary, grammatic knowledge, and other language measures—all of which are highly correlated with reading ability—and the failure of disadvantaged children to achieve commensurate with their advantaged peers. This enigma has been addressed by Snow (1983), who suggests that although reading/writing literacy and language are related, there are, in fact, important differences. To elaborate, the acquisition of language occurs naturally whereas the acquisition of reading and writing, for most children, relies on formal instruction. Second, the language skills achieved naturally by children in the course of social interaction are highly contextualized skills of communication. This stands in contrast to the decontextualized uses of language present in numerous school-related literacy experiences. Third, directed practice plays a more significant role in the acquisition of literacy skills than in the acquisition of language. Fourth, largely as a function of their decontextualized nature, literacy tasks call for more faithful observations of conventions than do oral language tasks.

In the past decade we have seen a burgeoning of interest in the metalinguistic knowledge of disadvantaged children—or the awareness these children have of language and its uses. There are three types of metalinguistic knowledge that have been investigated in this domain (Mason, 1984). One type of knowledge refers to the functions of print in the environment. For example, children learn that print can be used to entertain, inform, and instruct. A second type of metalinguistic knowledge involves children's understandings of the form and structure of language, including awareness of the sounds and letters in their printed language, the phonemic segments in oral and printed language, and the recognition of words as discrete entities in either contextualized or decontextualized settings. Finally, the third type of knowledge includes children's acquisition of the language tools for talking about reading and writing. This includes children's ability to understand the terms that are used to talk about print (e.g., word, letter, top of page, beginning of line) as well as the procedures and social rules for engaging in the reading/writing lesson. Clay (1972), Mason (1984), Downing, Ayres, & Shaffer (1982), among others, have observed that children experiencing difficulty with literacy related skills frequently do not display adequate metalinguistic knowledge.

What are the implications of these observations regarding the language and metalinguistic characteristics of disadvantaged students? In direct service to children, it is possible to provide formal instruction regarding the conventions of print, teaching the various functions and forms of print. Complementing the activity of the classroom teacher, a speech-language pathologist can role play participation in group reading lessons, reinforce what occurs in the classroom, and extend the child's practice with the conventions of print. As a consultant to teachers and parents, the speech-language pathologist has numerous opportunities to identify ways in which language instruction can be embedded in rich contextual experiences and presented in a manner that parallels the social interactive nature of initial language acquisition.

PRESCHOOL EXPERIENCES

There is considerable interest in parent-narrative question sequences. Teachers have been gradually able to elicit the engagement of preschool children in classroom dialogues, and these child interactions can prepare children for teacher-child interactions when the children begin their school careers. A theme underlying comparative research of preschool experiences is that majority culture children experience a variety of preschool parent-child interactions that match well with the type of student-teacher interactions that dominate classroom dialogue. Minority culture and disadvantaged children typically do not.

Illustrative of this research are observations of picture-book reading activities among middle-class families (DeLoach, 1984; Ninio & Bruner, 1978). These studies depicted parents (typically mothers) modeling and coaching their children, as young as 8 months, in the use of literacy skills. Initially, the parents were observed to label the pictures for their children. As the children matured, the parents increased their expectations, requesting that the child label the picture, while the parent praised their efforts. As development progressed, parents began to elaborate on the text, relating the objects to their children's experiences and questioning the children about background information relevant to the pictures. In this manner the parents have modeled appropriate comprehension monitoring activities; the children have had experiences with a type of question-asking activity that prevails in school settings; and the children have experienced scaffolded instruction in which they have been provided support in the acquisition of increasingly complex cognitive skills.

There are differences in children's home reading environments, and those differences have been determined to be significant predictors of children's attitudes and success with literacy. In a study conducted by Hansen (1969), four measures of home reading environment were collected: availability of reading material, amount of reading done with children, amount of encouragement to read, and extent to which parents modeled reading activity. The composite measure of these home reading factors correlated more highly with fourth-grade reading achievement than did the socioeconomic status of the parents.

Additional evidence of the influence home factors can assume in a child's adjustment to the literacy demands in school is provided by the provocative research conducted by Heath (1981). In her comparative observations of question-asking activities in middle-class and poor homes, Heath observed that middle-class parents ask numerous "known answer" questions, question types that figure prominently in the primary grades. These questions assume little importance in the homes of poor, black children were questioning does occur, but of a different nature. In their homes, questions were used to frame metaphors and to begin stories. When the children Heath had observed engaging in rich linguistic exchanges at home began school, they were unresponsive to the known-answer questions generated by their teachers. Interestingly, when Heath encouraged the teachers of these young, black children to engage their students in metaphoric and narrative question sequences, the teachers were gradually able to elicit the engagement of those children in classrooms dialogues, and, in time, were able to introduce the less familiar known-answer questioning routines.

With regard to the implications of these observations for speech-language pathologists, as communication specialists, you are in a unique position to help school personnel to recognize the natural language forms that children have experienced in the home and to aid teachers to achieve a match between these experiences and those that will be expected in the school setting. All of us are challenged to harness the best of what children have experienced and to find ways to impart a voice to all children, regardless of their prior language experiences, in school dialogue.

The work of Patricia Edwards (1989) suggests another role for speech-language pathologists that can yield significant outcomes. Edwards has worked with inner city, minority parents teaching them ways of engaging their preschool children in literacy experiences in the home setting during picture-book reading. When those preschool children entered kindergarten and first grade, they were prepared for school-based literacy experiences. Furthermore, and very importantly, parents participating in Edward's programs, empowered with some knowledge of how they might assist their children, indicated a greater interest in their children's school experiences.

Let us now examine the effects of differential instruction on the literacy acquisition of disadvantaged children.

DIFFERENTIAL INSTRUCTION

As described previously, students, for a number of reasons, arrive at school differentially prepared to participate in literacy activities. Because of different experiences, students are placed in ability groups that may affect the literacy curriculum they receive. What is alarming about this phenomenon is the evidence that such differential instruction may unwittingly serve to exacerbate the problems of the most needful children.

Brophy and Good (1969) ignited the differential treatment controversy with the suggestion that first grade children in high-achieving reading groups were praised more and criticized less than those in low-achieving reading groups. In addition, they observed that the errors of the high achievers were more often tolerated than those of the low-achieving readers.

Examining teachers' responses to errors more closely, Allington (1983a,b) confirmed the Brophy and Good observation that teachers interrupted reading more often when poor readers faltered (74% of the time) than when good readers erred (31%). Furthermore, he discerned that teachers were more likely to interrupt poor readers immediately when they made an error, whereas, when working with good readers, teachers tended to wait until the end of the meaning chunk before correcting the student. Finally, if a child needed help, the teacher provided predominantly graphemic/phonemic clues to poor readers and semantic/syntactic assistance to good readers.

Ethnographic studies tend to support this differential treatment (Au, 1980; Collins & Smith, 1982; McDermott, 1976). These studies indicate that good readers are questioned about the meaning of what they are reading and are frequently asked to evaluate and criticize material. A considerable amount of time in the high reading group is spent "on task" (i.e., reading related activities are occurring), and a large proportion of those activities are focused on comprehension. In contrast, in poor reading groups, considerable time is spent in management activities such as turn-taking and hand-raising.

There is a very simple point to be made reflecting on this observational research, which is the role that practice plays in the acquisition of literacy. Children who have received less practice with reading activity and who, when receiving reading instruction, practice decoding to the exclusion of comprehension monitoring may well be exhibiting cumulative deficits because they have not received adequate experiences in comprehension-fostering activities in the home nor in their reading group. Furthermore, the differential instruction hypothesis suggests that children who have received inadequate practice in the comprehension-monitoring aspects of reading present misconceptions of reading as the process of saying words right and fast, with too little attention focused on the meaningful nature of reading (Brown, Palincsar, & Purcell, 1987).

This differential instruction is not a phenomenon peculiar to general education classrooms. Similar and perhaps even more disturbing observations have been made regarding special education programs. To illustrate this point, I will employ research from the reading domain. Of the 1.7 million students currently identified as learning disabled, the majority are referred for relatively poor performance in reading (Leinhardt et al., 1981). Despite the need for carefully planned and intensive reading instruction, there is remarkably little of this instruction occurring in special education programs for learning-disabled children. Linhart, Zigmond, & Cooley (1981) examined reading instruction in primary self-contained classrooms for learning-disabled students and determined that, despite the stated emphasis on reading achievement, students spent but 10% of their day in oral or silent reading activities. Furthermore, teachers averaged only 16 minutes providing reading instruction. A recent replication of this study by Haynes and Jenkins (1986) with fourth through sixth graders disclosed considerable variability in time allocation across the programs observed but a total mean of only 9.9 minutes daily in reading instruction. Furthermore, in comparing the instruction of special education students in resource versus general education settings, they observed that students received twice as much cognitive instruction in general education settings as they did in the resource room. This is a particularly stunning finding when juxtaposed with the fact that, for the majority of students involved in this study, the resource room was identified as the primary site for reading instruction. In fact, for 30% of the students, the resource room was the only setting in which students received reading instruction.

In her article, "Out of the broom closet and into the classroom: The emerging speech-language pathologist," Simon (1987) identifies a number of practices that could prevent the kinds of differential instruction that serve to impede rather than enhance the progress of children referred for speech and language difficulty, including the use of school communication contexts as the primary setting for the delivery of services; the examination of the speech-language pathologist curriculum to ascertain how the thinking, reading, listening, speaking, and writing skills that a student needs to demonstrate in school are the focus of this curriculum; and an examination of the extent to which language is being taught, not in a reductionist fashion where the goals of the instruction are piecemeal and, consequently, obtuse, but rather in a wholistic and functional fashion.

In the next portion of this paper, we examine the role that metacognitive and strategy knowledge assumes in the acquisition of literacy.

METACOGNITIVE AND STRATEGY KNOWLEDGE

In a fairly recent issue of *Topics in Learning and*

Learning Disorders, Wiig (1984) urged speech-language pathologists make the shift from teaching specific skills to teaching strategies to support attainment of mature language and communicative competence (p. 51). A similar shift has been observed across a number of instructional domains. This shift has been informed principally by cognitive research, specifically in the area of metacognition.

Metacognition has generally been classified into two major forms: knowledge about cognition and regulation of cognition (Brown, 1980; Flavell, 1987). Knowledge about cognition refers to the theories that one has about the domain, *thinking*. It is a form of declarative knowledge that is the result of cumulative experience undergone by the child or conveyed to the child via instruction. Regulation of cognition incorporates planning activities prior to undertaking a problem (e.g., predicting outcomes, selecting strategies), monitoring activities during learning (testing, revising, and selecting new strategies for learning), and checking outcomes (evaluating efficiency and effectiveness) of any strategic action's outcome.

Both forms of metacognition can be applied readily to the reading and writing domains. The skilled reader and writer have considerable declarative knowledge concerning the purposes of various forms of literacy activities together with a repertoire of self-regulatory strategies that enable reading and writing for the purposes at hand. In a review of theoretical treatments (cf. Baker & Brown, 1984; Collins & Smith, 1982) Brown, Palincsar, & Armbruster (1984) noted that there were six activities repeatedly mentioned as prime comprehension-fostering strategies: (1) clarifying the purposes of creating (i.e., understanding the task demands, both explicit and implicit); (2) activating relevant background knowledge; (3) allocating attention so that concentration can be focused on the major content at the expense of trivia; (4) critical evaluation of content for internal consistency and compatibility with prior knowledge and common sense; (5) monitoring ongoing activities to see if comprehension is occurring by engaging in such activities as periodic review and self-interrogation; and (6) drawing and testing inferences of many kinds, including interpretations, predictions, and conclusions. Similarly, skilled writers must employ related cognitive strategies to produce coherent texts. That is, skilled writers must clarify the writing purpose, including the audience; activate background knowledge; allocate attention so that minor content is appropriately subsumed under related major content; critically evaluate the content for internal consistency and compatibility with the author's and audience's prior knowledge and common sense; monitor ongoing activities to ensure that the sense-making properties of the text are preserved; and draw and test inferences.

Children who are less skilled readers and writers have been observed to experience difficulty understanding the demands of literacy tasks. This lack of awareness becomes a likely explanation why poor readers and writers also show little evidence of spontaneously using strategic activities to enhance comprehension and composition (Englert, Raphael, & Anderson, 1988).

The recognition that less skilled readers and writers need to be taught better awareness and self-regulation during literacy activities has led to a burgeoning of metacognitive strategy instruction studies (Palincsar & Brown, 1989). For the most part, these instructional studies have proven quite successful. The evidence, to date, suggests that children can be taught to engage in self-regulated learning when strategy instruction is an integrated part of the curriculum and includes the assessment of current strategy use, explanation regarding the nature and use of strategies, and opportunities to use strategies across the contexts in which they are useful.

We will return to the issue of metacognitive instruction at the conclusion of this paper, describing one model of strategy instruction that has been used successfully with remedial reading students and first graders at risk for academic difficulty.

ATTRIBUTIONAL PROCESSES

The profile drawn thus far has addressed exclusively the cognitive characteristics of disadvantaged children. However, this profile would be incomplete without discussing the affective characteristics that affect the literacy attainment of these students. In fact, Weiner and his colleagues (1971) have argued that racial and socioeconomic differences in achievement may be due to differences in the attributions of these children. For example, individuals from poverty backgrounds may feel little control over their environment and consequently may attribute both their successes and failures to external causes, factors beyond their control. Moreover, these children, predisposed to repeated school failure because of their impoverished literacy skills, may begin to believe that their effort is unrelated to outcomes. Regardless of the time and energy devoted to school tasks, failure cannot be avoided. These students develop a high expectancy for failure and exhibit a general learning posture referred to as "learning helplessness." They generate less effort during task performance, their general task persistence is greatly diminished, and they have less confidence in their problem solving strategies. During problem solving activity they make ineffectual statements that, in fact, interfere with problem solution, and they react, to moderate difficulty as though it were insurmountable (Dweck & Repucci, 1973).

There appear to be several educational responses, in which speech-language pathologists could be involved, that are effective in preventing and remediating the passivity and external attributions of learned helpless children. Successful learning experiences, in and of themselves, may be effective in ameliorating the negative failure. Students who experience success tend to project a greater expectancy for success on future tasks.

A second educational response is to teach students to change their attributions for failure. In this approach, students are taught, very explicitly, the relationship between their strategic approach to a task and their success with that task. Naturally, changing attributions will not affect performance if attribution retraining is conducted in the absence of assessing and teaching problem solving strategies appropriate to a particular task. To become empowered, students must acquire procedures for problem solving that change not only what they do during problem solving activity but also change the self-statements that direct their performance during the planning, organizing, and orchestrating of their problem solving activity.

A final educational response is the use of cooperative rather than competitive learning arrangements. In competitive situations, students succeed at the expense of others. In cooperative arrangements, there is less concern with winning or losing and more focus on mastering the task at hand.

The final portion of this paper describes a model of cognitive strategy instruction that employs a collaborative learning arrangement and has been used effectively to improve the reading comprehension of remedial middle school and junior high students as well as the listening comprehension of first graders at risk for academic difficulty.

RECIPROCAL TEACHING

Reciprocal teaching refers to an instructional procedure that is principally dialogic in nature. Teachers and students take turns leading discussions about shared text. These are not, however, open-ended discussions. Rather, the discussions are structured with the use of four activities that are practiced as strategies: predicting, questioning, summarizing, and clarifying. Before discussing the role that these strategies play in the dialogue, I will describe why they were selected.

These four strategies were selected on the basis of several features. First, they are examples of strategic activities that good readers routinely bring to bear when learning from text, but poor readers fail to use. Second, when employed intelligently, they both improve comprehension and provide the alert reader an opportunity to monitor for understanding. For example, if one attempts to paraphrase a section of text and fails, this may be a good indication that comprehension and retention have not been achieved and remedial action, such as rereading, is required. Finally, as we shall see shortly, these particular strategies lend themselves well to scaffolding (i.e., supporting) a discussion.

Although emphasis is on the flexible and opportunistic use of the strategies, there is the following general pattern to the dialogues. When working with a new story, the discussion begins by generating predictions about the content of the text based upon the title. The group discusses their knowledge of information suggested by the title or their expectations driven by questions they have regarding the topic or by experiences they have had with similar kinds of text. Following their discussion of predictions, the group reads or listens to a portion of the text.

One individual is invited to lead the discussion for each portion of the text. The discussion leader begins by asking questions pertinent to the information read. Other members of the group respond to those questions and suggest additional questions, which are also answered. The discussion leader then summarizes the same segment of text, and other members of the group are invited to comment or elaborate on the summary. If there were points in the text that were unclear (e.g., concepts or vocabulary terms), these are discussed in an attempt to achieve clarity. Finally, if the text provides sufficient clues, the group generates additional predictions. The following excerpt from a discussion that occurred among a group of six first-grade students, five of whom were at risk for academic difficulty, and their teacher is presented to illustrate reciprocal teaching. The group is listening to a text about bear cubs:

> [The teacher reads.] "Baby bear was bigger than his sister and he began to play too rough. His sister jumped onto a tree trunk and climbed quickly upward."
>
> Kendra interrupts for a clarification: "What's rough?" Mara, one of the children, suggests, "Like you say rough texture." The teacher interjects, "Well, that's one kind of rough." Another child, Robert, adds, "The other one is like they beat you up." The teacher turns their attention to the text for clarification. "That's another kind of rough. Let me read the sentence and see which one you think it is. If it's the way you feel, the texture, or the beating up." [Rereads.] "Baby bear was bigger than his sister and he began to play too rough." Mara says, "It's the kind he means [referring to Robert]. Teacher replies, "The punching and hitting, playing too hard. Okay."
>
> [The teacher continues reading and comes to a portion of the text where a prediction would be appropriate.] "His front paws caught hold on the branch, but he could not pull himself up. He hung there, swinging in midair. . . . Now the limb bent lower and lower . . . SNAP . . ." [Teacher stops reading] "Prediction?" Children answer, "It fell." The teacher replies, "That's your prediction. Let's see if it's true." [The teacher reads] "The limb broke and baby bear fell, splash into the cold stream. He squalled for his mother. Now the mother splashed into the water . . ."
>
> Robert interrupts for another clarification. "What's squalled?" [Teacher rereads] "He squalled for his mother. What do you think he did when he fell in the water?" Robert answers, "Whining, whining and crying." Teacher: "Good, Robert!"
>
> The teacher then continued reading and asked the discussion leader, Margo, to begin by asking her question. Margo asks, "What did he lay in?" The group has been talking about the different kinds of questions that one can ask: questions that are about details in the story and questions that you have to think about to answer. Perhaps as a consequence of these discussions, Mara offers the following comment on Margo's question, "It's true that you could get an answer for that question. But is it gonna get an answer from more than one people? Probably, it's just gonna get an answer from one, and there's better questions that you could ask."
>
> The teacher interjects at this point: "Well, let's go ahead and answer her and see if we can get this one." The children then answer Margo's question, and she asks another one, "What did the mother do after he squalled? Robert." Robert, "Licked him all over." Margo, "Correct.

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> Any more questions?" Several children have additional questions which the group discussed. The teacher then asks Margo to summarize. Margo: "This part of the story told us about baby bear and sister bear are wrestling."
>
> The teacher provides the following feedback regarding Margo's summary. "Tell us a bit more. There's an important thing that you left out. While they were wrestling what happened?" The children then completed the summary as a group, adding additional details about the events which occurred in the story (Palincsar & Brown, 1989, 33–35).

While the strategies serve to support the dialogue, it is the teacher who supports the children's participation in the dialogue. This support varies, naturally, according to such features as the ability of the students and the difficulty of the text. Over time, as the children internalize the use of these strategies, the role of the teacher changes. The teacher is consciously attempting to turn over more responsibility for leading and sustaining the dialogue to the student participants. Initially, the teacher instructed, provided explanations to the students, and modeled strategy use. Over time, the teacher engages more in coaching the student's participation in the discussion.

The initial studies of reciprocal teaching were conducted with junior high students who were adequate decoders but very poor comprehenders. Response to the 25 days of intervention was assessed with the use of comprehension measures and assessments of strategy use. The results indicated that 70% of the experimental students attained criterion performance as compared with 25% of the control students who were instructed by the same teachers but received isolated skill instruction (Palinscar & Brown, 1984).

In the most recent extension of this research program, reciprocal teaching was investigated with 1st and 2nd graders who were determined to be at risk for academic difficulty, many of whom the teachers characterized as having poor language skills. Instruction was conducted by the classroom teacher, working with groups of six children, for 30 days. With these young children, reciprocal teaching was conducted as a listening activity. Seventy-five percent of the primary children attained criterion performance. Furthermore, the 1st graders were observed to engage their teachers spontaneously in similar discussions during small group reading time. Finally, a follow-up conducted when the students entered 2nd grade indicated that they demonstrated excellent recall of the dialogue procedure.

CONCLUSION

There are many respects in which remedial reading and special education teachers of the mildly impaired are at similar crossroads in their respective disciplines as are speech-language pathologists. This suggests that the time is particularly ripe for collaboration among school specialists. Certainly there is a place for all of us as we enable children to participate in the pursuit for literacy, a pursuit that should be available, attainable, and enticing to all.

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Chapter 10

MOTIVATING THE UNMOTIVATED: MEETING THE NATION'S LITERACY NEEDS INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

S. JAY SAMUELS
The University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, MN

WHY IS THERE PUBLIC CONCERN ABOUT EDUCATION IN THE U.S.?

Danger of Losing Economic Power

Like a classical symphony which has an established form and structure, recent articles on educational reform have taken on a recognizable structure of their own. Increasingly, these articles begin with criticisms of the educational achievements of U.S. students, then they move on to an analysis of the underlying causes for the lack of achievement, and, finally, they end with solutions to the problem.

Of course, there are good reasons for the numerous articles of this genre. The United States is locked in an economic battle with other countries of the world, and we are in danger of losing our position as the world's leading economic power.

The U.S. public is aware that the economic vitality of all nations is linked to the quality of education provided in the schools. Because of this link between educational quality and economic vitality, schools are receiving an ever increasing amount of publicity. *A Nation at Risk*, a report of the Presidential Commission on Excellence in Education, warns that unless the quality of education improves, there will be serious economic consequences for the United States. The January 19, 1987, issue of *U.S. News and World Report* stated that schools are a contributing factor to the economic problems that the United States is experiencing. The need to improve schools is now seen as a "brain battle." Students in countries such as Japan, Russia, West Germany, and France have higher scholastic achievement than students in the U.S.A. in such key subjects as mathematics, science, and language.

If "Schools Are Not Broken, Why Fix Them?"

The dilemma we face in the attempt to bring about educational reform is that our educational system is neither broken nor is it nonfunctional. Although it is true that many students fail to get even a minimal basic education, still there are others who are well educated. Consequently, it is tempting to leave our schools as they are because there is wisdom in the adage, "If it isn't broken, don't fix it." At the present time our schools are doing as good a job as they have in the past; in fact, in some categories a better job. For example, the National Assessment of Educational Progress reports a trend showing improved literal comprehension skills for inner city youths.

There is considerable evidence that our schools are doing a better job teaching reading now than they did in the past. Farr, Tuinman, & Rowls (1974) gave reading tests that had been used 30 years earlier to students enrolled in schools in the 1970s. Comparing the scores, the authors concluded that students were reading as well or better than their counterparts of 10, 20, and 30 years ago. This trend in improving scores can also be seen by comparing achievement data on The National Assessment of Educational Progress for 1971, 1975, and 1979. For 9-year-old, there has been a national gain in reading of 3.9%, with the largest gain coming from Blacks (9.9%). For the 13-year-old group, there was also an increase in reading performance, again with a significant gain for the Black students. While we seem to be doing a slightly better job teaching reading today than we did in the past, the critical comparison is with other nations of the world who are our competitors in the worldwide economic race.

Other Nations Are Improving in Education Faster Than We Are

Unfortunately, despite the general improvement in our schools, what we are doing is just not good enough. Our competitive edge as a nation is being eroded not because we are going a less good job than we had been doing in the past, but because other nations are doing a better job. While many of our schools and students are in the slow lane, theirs are in the fast lane. Students from other countries, such as those located in the Pacific rim and

Europe, are spending more time in school, working harder, and spending more hours studying. In essence, students are learning more. Consequently, students from those other countries are outperforming ours on comparative tests of educational achievement, and, in turn, these foreign students are helping their countries improve their economic position in the worldwide economic competition while our position declines.

The January 19, 1987, *U.S. News and World Report* magazine compared the standing of U.S. students in relation to students in other countries. The scorecard is as follows:

- Ninety percent of the Japanese students get high school diplomas whereas nearly 25% of the U.S. high school students become "drop-outs."
- When Japanese students finish high school, they have had the equivalent of three to four more years of education than our students, and about half of the students in a Japanese graduating high school class know as much as the average U.S. college graduate.
- Japan, with half the population of the United States, produces 9% more engineers than does the U.S.
- Most people who get Ph.D.'s in engineering in the U.S. are foreigners.
- Soviet students study physics and algebra for five years, chemistry and biology for four years, and calculus for two. Most U.S. students take less than a year of physics or chemistry, and less than 6% take calculus.
- In 1982, The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement tested knowledge of algebra in grade 12 students from 15 nations. Students from Hong Kong and Japan ranked at the top while students from the U.S. placed nearly at the bottom, in rank number 14.
- When it comes to knowing about foreign cultures, a nine-nation survey by the United Nations found U.S. students ranked next to last.
- A test of U.S. sixth grader's map knowledge found that 20% of our students could not locate their country on a map.

Educational statistics such as these indicate clearly that if the U.S. is to maintain its competitive edge and its economic position, changes will have to be made and made rather quickly.

According to Forrest Chisman, author of *Jump Start: The Federal Role in Adult Literacy* (1989), tens of millions of relatively young potential workers are seriously handicapped because of difficulties in reading, writing, and computational skills. Their deficiencies are so serious that they have difficulty getting and holding jobs.

As a nation, we are speeding towards a demographic deadline. By the year 2010, the baby boom generation will be ready to retire, and to help support their retirement our nation will need an economic effort of unprecedented effort. The single most important factor in determining if this nation can support the economic burden of the retirees will be the strength of the economy and the productivity of its work force. If we have a well-educated work force, they will contribute to the robustness of the economy. But, if we have poorly educated young Americans in the work force, they will add to the economic burden because they will be unemployable. And, rather than contributing to the economy, they will have to be put on the public dole, thus exacerbating the problem. Several generations ago, the poorly educated could find low-level, low-paying work, but today, the low-level work can probably be done better and more cheaply by a machine. The poorly educated illiterates have become a financial drain on society.

FOCUS OF THIS PAPER: MOTIVATION FOR READING

Although educational reform, if it is to be successful, will have to occur across a variety of areas, in this paper I will focus only on reading, and on only one important barrier to reading achievement, namely lack of student motivation. Specifically, I will offer suggestions so that professionals working within school contexts can assume a major role in improving the quality of reading achievement in our country.

The reason I have chosen motivating the unmotivated as the focus for this paper is that lack of student motivation is a major contributing factor in student underachievement in reading. If one considers the variety of causes for poor reading, causes which include lack of student motivation and cooperation, learning disabilities, and faulty methods, the motivation factor is a major factor which must be addressed.

Despite lip service to the importance of motivation, there is a tendency in educational circles to ignore this crucial variable. Because of our reverence for technology, we tend to emphasize reading methods and materials. We compare the efficacy of whole language methods to skills-based approaches to reading, and textbook selection committees in schools debate which publisher's basal reading programs should be purchased. These concerns about the technology of reading are important, but there is another concern of equal importance, and that is concern about the student. If we are to be successful with our methods and materials, we must have a motivated student. The best reading methods and the best reading materials are useless without students who are ready to put in the effort, time, and attention which is essential to learning. Even slow learners and learning-disabled students can learn to read, if they participate actively and cooperatively with their teachers. In this paper I will describe some traditional as well as less well-known approaches to student motivation.

Books such as the Peters and Waterman (1982) *In Search of Excellence* have forced American business leaders to recognize the crucial role played by the manager in motivating workers to perform at peak levels. Classroom teachers are managers, and they, too, must learn how to get students to cooperate. As we shall see, often what distinguishes successful managers, workers, and teachers is not access to better technology but the ability to get others to work better, faster, and harder. Rudy Perpich, Governor of Minnesota, has said, "The best prospects for making Minnesota competitive in the world market lie in applied research, or finding ways of doing things faster, better, and for less money." This proven strategy has worked exceptionally well for some of Minnesota's major employers, such as 3M and Medtronics. It has made Japan our most formidable economic competitor. What works in the marketplace can also work in our schools. Teachers and other professionals working in schools must learn improved techniques for getting students to cooperate in the classroom.

WHAT IS HYPERLITERACY?

Level of Literacy Required to Function in Society Increases for Each Generation

In order to be efficient in our effort to improve our level of national literacy, we need to know what it is that we are trying to accomplish. At a mundane level we can say it is national literacy. But what is literacy? It is a concept that has several definitions, and the standards of what constitutes literacy change over time (Resnick & Resnick, 1977). During George Washington's day, a man was considered literature if he could write his name. The level of reading ability that marked a person as being literate in one generation is inadequate for the next generation. During the colonial period, the primary goal for education was to enable the student to read the Bible. Although the ability to understand the Bible represents a formidable task, succeeding generations added new reading tasks, such as the ability to understand technical communications relating to one's occupation. We can think of this trend to make the reading task more difficult for each new generation as literacy inflation.

According to the United Nation's definition of literacy, a person is literate if he or she can read and comprehend simple text material about everyday life. Using this guideline, the U.S. Census Bureau claims that 99% of the adult population can read and write. On the other hand, Johnathon Kozal, who is a critic of American education, claims that 60,000,000 U.S. adults cannot read the poison labels on medicine bottles.

If we use the United Nation's definition of literacy as our benchmark, we can begin to think of reading ability as a continuum with three points on a scale: illiteracy, literacy, and hyperliteracy. Batson (1989) claims that America's problem is not illiteracy, at least not the inability to read simple material. He claims, "Only a few Americans—3 to 4 million—are totally unable to read. Most of the people with serious reading problems can read some, write some, do some math."

America's problem is not even literacy, because most U.S. adults have achieved that basic ability to read and write about simple, everyday things. In today's economy, that minimal level of reading ability is adequate to function effectively on the job. For the first time in U.S. history, more than half the job openings require more than a high school education. William Kolberg, President of the National Alliance of Business, has said, "Any job an illiterate can do, a machine can do better and cheaper. It has reached a point where all business can say to a drop-out is, 'You're unemployable.' "

Beyond Literacy to Hyperliteracy

The goal for American education is to educate beyond basic literacy to hyperliteracy. In order to be competitive in today's worldwide economic marketplace, the United States will have to educate its students to read at levels which in previous generations were reserved for the educated elite. When observed over a large period of time, the trend is to bring to the average person levels of skill that once were reserved for the fortunate few. This trend is happening in reading just as it has in mathematics. For example, during the Renaissance long division was taught at only a few universities in Italy, and then only to those majoring in mathematics. Today it is taught to every fourth grader. Hyperliteracy, once the hallmark of the super-educated, will have to become the benchmark of the masses.

To understand what hyperliteracy is, we have to think of reading as a complex skill that can be separated into its components. The two major components of reading comprehension are literal comprehension and inferential comprehension. Both are important. By literal comprehension we simply mean that the student can understand the information given in the text.

Hyperliteracy: Literal comprehension. For example, if given the sentence: "At the famous battle of the Little Bighorn which took place on June 25 and 26, 1876, in North Dakota, soldiers of Lt. Col. George Custer were massacred by an overwhelming force of several thousand Sioux and Northern Cheyenne Indians." A person with basic reading abilities would be able to understand the sentence and answer literal comprehension questions which pertain to information explicitly stated in the text, questions such as: Where did the action take place? When did the action occur? How many soldiers and Indians were involved?

Hyperliteracy: Inferential comprehension. However, hyperliteracy demands a skill level such that the student should be able to read at multiple levels beyond the literal comprehension level. Hyperliteracy also requires the ability to make inferences. Using prior knowledge and logic, a skilled reader should be able to extend basic understanding of the text. For example, is there bias in the writing, what kinds of weapons did each side use, what were the social forces which led to the confrontation, what long-range effect would the battle have?

Skilled readers should be able to detect certain key words in the passage, such as *massacre* and *overwhelming*, which are indicators of bias on the part of the writer. From the Indian viewpoint, the battle was not a massacre but a military victory made possible by Custer's poor decisions. He was warned by his scouts that he was outnumbered, but he chose to ignore the warning. When he was offered a rapid fire gatlin gun, he refused it. A reader with good inferential reasoning abilities might also wonder how one equates the strength of two oppos-

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ing forces, by sheer number of fighters or by the effectiveness of the weapons used by each side. A skilled reader with adequate background knowledge should also be able to make inferences about how the fighting occurred, what weapons were used by each side, what motivated the battle, and what the long-range outcome would be for the Indians.

Hyperliteracy: Constructing a coherent mental representation of the written text. In addition to the ability to answer literal and inferential comprehension questions, hyperliteracy requires two other skills: the ability to construct a coherent mental structure or representation of the information in the text and the ability to monitor one's comprehension as one reads. Good readers take the information in a text and interrelate the ideas. They also see how the text information fits in with information contained from prior knowledge. This active process of interrelating ideas from the text and from prior knowledge becomes the reader's mental representation or structure of the text.

Also, skilled readers monitor their progress as they read. They are aware of their goals for reading, and they recognize when they are not meeting their goals. Furthermore, they are knowledgeable about how to overcome any barriers to their goals as they read.

In addition to literal and inferential comprehension abilities, hyperliteracy requires the ability to construct a coherent mental picture of the information in the text. A text simply contains information, and it is the reader's task to extract the information in order to construct a mental representation of the information presented in the text. In constructing a mental representation, the skilled reader relates the ideas to each other and adds other information from prior knowledge. In fact, skilled readers often construct a mental representation that is more coherent than the structure found in the text itself.

Perhaps an analogy is required at this point. What the reader does in constructing a mental representation is similar to what a building contractor does in building a home. What the contractor does is begin with the plans of the architect, and, using the plans and a variety of materials, a house is constructed that combines the architect's and the contractor's ideas. The final product may not be an exact copy of the plans as envisioned by the architect because the contractor may alter the plans based on outside experience and knowledge. Just as a house is a structure with the rooms and furniture set in a pattern, the mental representation of a text contains ideas from the text as well as from the reader's prior experience, all set in relationship or pattern.

Hyperliteracy: Monitoring one's comprehension. Finally, hyperliteracy requires the ability to monitor one's comprehension as one reads. Skilled readers establish goals, monitor their progress, and are aware of how well they are meeting their goals. They are aware of when they encounter a barrier and know what steps to take to overcome such barriers. In summary, hyperliteracy represents a level of reading for the masses which a generation ago was reserved for the highly educated. These reading skills include reading for literal and inferential comprehension, the ability to construct a coherent mental representation of a text, and the ability to monitor progress in reading and to take corrective action when needed.

Barriers to hyperliteracy. Usually, there are no simple solutions to complex problems, and the goal of improving the level of literacy of a large diversified nation presents itself as a complex undertaking. If there were a single barrier to our goal, the job of overcoming the barrier would be less difficult. Unfortunately, a realistic examination of what may prevent this nation from reaching the goal indicates there are several barriers to overcome, and they can be categorized as those that reside within the student and those that are external to the student. Of course, both internal and external barriers can be present to exacerbate an already difficult problem.

The major inside-the-student barriers to hyperliteracy are lack of motivation and failure to work hard and to cooperate. Learning to read, like any other highly complex skill, requires on the part of the learner a desire to learn, cooperation, and a willingness to expend effort and time on the task. Without this effort, there is little chance that one will learn. In the United States we have numerous students who are alienated and who believe that effort spent on obtaining an education is foolish because they will not enjoy a good return on their investment. Instead, what they often see is that illegal activity, such as the sale of illegal drugs, brings a better return than effort spent on studying and cooperating with teachers. Jan Smaby, Director of the Minnesota Office of Drug Policy, believes that multiple answers are needed for complex problems, and education for job entry is one of the solutions to the drug problem. In referring to poorly educated men she said, "Today, these poor males look around on the streets and all they see is that running drugs is the way to be somebody—to have things like cars and television sets" (Parsons, 1989).

Another inside-the-student reason for difficulty in learning to read is genetic. These students have the intellectual capacity to comprehend information when it comes through the ear but have difficulty when the information is printed. According to Gray and Kavanagh (1985) there is increasing evidence that there is a genetic basis for the difficulty experienced by some students in learning to read. Stevenson (1987) has found that the incidence of difficulty in learning to read is about the same across national cultures, whether they use Chinese-type logographs or syllabaries, or use alphabetic letters, as we do.

The third factor that can account for difficulty in learning to read is an outside-the-student factor pertaining to the quality of teaching offered in the schools. If the quality is poor and if the methods for materials are faulty, then the student will have trouble learning.

Although any of these inside- and outside-the-student factors will retard learning, each can be overcome. Well-known Americans such as General George Patten and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller had learning disabilities, yet managed to overcome them. Students who are alienated and unmotivated can have the spark of desire for academic achievement ignited, and the quality of teaching can be improved. As educators, we must remember that there is nothing we do so well that we cannot do it better. We must continue to find ways to improve instructional quality.

The rudiments of quality instruction are well known. Samuels (1988), for example, has outlined the characteristics of effective reading instruction. Analyses of successful schools have found that effective reading instruction is the end result of many interrelated components working interactively. School administrators, teacher attitude, inservice support, all play a role. We know when teachers use systematic instruction that is direct, sequential, with modeling and explanations, learning improves (Morsink, Soar, Soar, & Thomas, 1986).

WHAT ARE THE TRADITIONAL BEHAVIORISTIC APPROACHES TO MOTIVATING THE UNMOTIVATED?

American educators have held the belief for many years that the solution to the problems of education can be focused through technological improvement. When translated to the problem of improving reading, this approach suggests that if we can discover a better reading method or learn how to write "friendlier" texts, we will be able to help students learn more. Although there is validity to this belief, the real problem we face with so many of our students who are academically underachieving is that the major cause of the failure can be attributed to factors within the student—to a lack of student motivation, drive, and effort—rather than to factors external to the student such as a failure to find the right method for the student.

Without student desire to do well and to succeed, there is little that teachers can do. To achieve the levels of literacy necessary for the next century, students will have to be willing participants in the processes leading to hyperliteracy. In the next part of this paper, techniques for motivating students are presented.

A Brief History of Research on Learning and Motivation

In the early 1900s, J. B. Watson, who is called the "father of behaviorism," established the goals for academic psychology, which was a new discipline engaged in a struggle for academic respectability. Watson stated that in order to win academic acceptance, psychology had to develop universal laws of basic learning. For the next half century, psychologists such as Skinner, Hull, Guthrie, and Thorndike worked at discovering what conditions influenced learning. Because they wanted to establish universal laws that would generalize across different species of animals, they used a variety of species in their studies, including pigeons, rats, and dogs, as well as humans. Also, because their goal was to discover basic laws of learning, the tasks they set up tended to involve simple rather than complex learning tasks.

As part of the goal for academic psychology, Watson also alerted the early psychologists to the need for reliability of measurements. Consequently, tasks which involved thinking, comprehending, and introspection were discouraged because Watson believed that these processes, which took place inside the human mind, could not be measured accurately. Watson's advice to psychologists led to a general halt to studies involving processes that take place within the hidden recess of the mind and led instead to studies where the effect of such stimuli as amount and timing of reward on responses and performance could be measured with consistency and accuracy.

Watson's advice to psychologists about how to establish a new science had a profound effect on educational practice and knowledge. A half century of carefully done studies led to a wealth of knowledge on how rewards and punishment influence motivation and learning. The emphasis on external observable stimuli and observable responses and the deemphasis on the mental processes that take place within the hidden recess of the mind taught us much about how to manipulate performance but taught us little about thinking. Studies done, for example, on reading tended to look at word recognition because it resembled stimulus-response learning, and studies of reading comprehension were ignored because comprehension was a process that took place within the mind.

Shortly after the findings from animal studies were published, psychologists and educators recognized the implications of those studies for humans, and psychologists began to study how to apply behavioral approaches to classroom conditions. Their applied studies led to increased understanding of how token rewards, timing of rewards, contingency management and contracts might influence students. Thus, one approach to student motivation has grown out of their old tradition of what may be thought of as behavioral psychology. In the next section, I will discuss how basic principles of behavioral psychology can be applied in classroom settings to motivate students.

Primary Needs and Reinforcers

In order to survive as a species, humans need food and water, sex, shelter, social nurturance, and a certain degree of stimulus novelty. Satisfying these needs is not only critical to the species but essential for the survival and happiness of the individual as well. Because of the importance of these needs, society goes to great effort to insure that they will be met. On the other hand, because of their essential nature, it is possible to influence individuals' behavior by depriving them of or providing them with these essential needs.

When considering the basic human needs, it is inappropriate for schools to meddle with needs or rewards such as nutrition, sex, or shelter in order to influence student behavior. On the other hand, either by design or by default, schools have always influenced behavior with regard to social nurturance and stimulus novelty needs. For example, social nurturance is influenced in a school setting by student contact with teachers and other students. Stimulus novelty is influenced by the day-by-day flow of events on a school campus and by how interesting the lessons are at school as well as by special events, such as parties, movies, and field trips, that take place during the school year.

Because of the importance of social nurturance and stimulus novelty, teachers can manipulate these variables to motivate students. In well-managed classrooms, students know that rewards such as teacher approval or participation in special events is contingent upon appropriate behavior. The students learn that in the classroom there is no such thing as a "free lunch"; they must pay for access to the more enjoyable aspects of school through cooperation.

Contingency Management

The heart of good behavioral control and management in a classroom is based on the principle that students must earn the right to the rewards that are present in the school and that teachers must be willing to make access to certain rewards contingent upon desired student behavior.

Implicit in these simple ideas are some basic requirements. Underlying contingency management is the concept that the teacher and student are involved in a social contract in which, if the student meets certain requirements, the teacher will provide access to desired rewards. Obviously, the social contract also implies that there are rewards under the control of the teacher for which the student is willing to work.

Weil and Murphy (1982) have suggested there are three categories of school rewards for contingency management. First, there are social rewards, such as teacher and student approval or access to special school events. Second, there are symbolic rewards, such as gold stars and awards. Third, there are tokens that can be redeemed for valued prizes or privileges.

Thus, contingency management involves having a variety of rewards that are attractive to students and making access to those rewards contingent upon appropriate behavior. What contingency management means in a school setting is essentially what happens in most work situations. In work situations there are a variety of rewards available; among them are money, a chance for pleasant interaction with others, and, often, a chance to do work that is important. However, in marketplace driven economies, such as ours, access to those rewards is contingent upon the employee doing the work required by the employer. The sample principle operates in the classroom. Whatever the rewards are, whether they consist of grades, teacher approval, peer-group interaction, or access to special events, they are made contingent upon the student cooperating in ways desired by the school.

If the student knows there are rewards that are attractive to the student, and if the student is willing to work for the rewards, then motivating students and winning their cooperation is easier than if none of the school rewards are attractive or if the student is unwilling to work for the rewards. Under some circumstances, the reward may be attractive but the student is unwilling to cooperate because the cost may be too high. In this case, negotiation between the teacher and the student may be required to alter the amount of student cost necessary for attaining the reward.

A more formidable problem for teachers is the situation where none of the traditional rewards, such as grades, social reinforcers, symbolic rewards, and tokens, are attractive to the student. When this occurs, other approaches to motivating students can be used. They involve humanistic and moral incentives, and these will be discussed later in the paper.

Reward and Punishment

Both rewards and punishment can be used to motivate students. There are two ways to reward students for cooperation. Either presenting something attractive, such as praise, approval, or tokens, or taking away something undesirable, such as student fear of failure, can be considered a reward.

Just as there are two ways to reward behavior, there are two ways to punish behavior. Either taking away a privilege, such as going on a field trip, or presenting something undesirable, such as criticism, can be considered a punishment.

However, what is undesirable and what is desirable are not the same for all students. Whereas teacher approval and praise may be attractive to most students, to students who are trying to gain a reputation for toughness and "bucking the system," teacher approval and praise may have just the opposite effect. Thus, teachers must be aware that in the area of motivation, the saying "Different strokes for different folks" is operative.

How then, can teachers really tell what is a reward and what is a punishment? The only valid way to tell what is rewarding and what is punishing is to see what effect presenting or withdrawing particular stimuli, change, or intervention has on the student's behavior. Assume, for example, that there is a classroom rule that students should not call out answers to questions unless the teacher calls on them. Johnny keeps ignoring the rule and yells out answers to questions. The teacher scolds Johnny each time this occurs in the expectation that scolding is a punishment and should suppress the behavior. To the annoyance of the teacher, Johnny's "call-outs" increase in frequency. Actually, since Johnny's call-outs increase in frequency, the teacher's criticism is reinforcing the very behavior the teacher wants to eliminate. What the teacher must learn to do is suppress the desire to criticize the student and, instead, ignore the call-outs. Thus, before there can be a change in the student's behavior, there must be a change in the teacher's behavior. Another approach the teacher may wish to try is to call on Johnny only when he raises his hand. Then, the teacher must see if calling on Johnny only when he raises his hand has the desired effect on the calling-out behavior. In summary, with regard to determining what is rewarding or punishing, the teacher must know what the goals are and then must observe to find out if the intervention has the desired effect on the student's behavior.

Schedules of reward and classroom productivity. As a general principle, rewards tend to increase work effort, and lack of reward or punishment decreases work effort. However, two other factors interact with each other to influence work output. The first is the basis for reward, that is, whether the reward comes contingent on some time period or whether the reward comes contingent on the number of responses made or work produced. The second factor that influences productivity is the worker's knowledge of when to expect the reward. The worker may expect the reward to come after a fixed or known time period—for instance, a pay check can be expected each week or a recess break comes after each 50-minute class period—or the reward may be expected to come on some random unknown basis as when one gambles. These two bases for reward and knowledge of when to expect reward are shown below. In Figure 1, the section on variable time interval (D) is left blank because time gets confounded with responses made during that variable time period.

In work situations where the reward (e.g., a weekly salary) comes at the end of a fixed time interval, as shown in B, productivity tends to be low because there is no financial incentive to encourage expending extra effort. In classroom situations where the students may not be motivated by grades, and the rewards, such as recess or going on trips, come at known time intervals, there may be little effort or cooperation shown by the students.

In work situations such as A, where the worker knows when to expect reward, and the reward is based on productivity or effort, productivity tends to be high. The reason for the high productivity is that there is an incentive for hard work. The harder one works and the more one produces, the more one earns. Many classroom situations work on schedule A. Students who work harder get higher grades. And many teachers let students know that access to parties, special school trips, and day-to-day enjoyable activities are contingent on certain work levels of productivity. In other words, students know that they must earn their way to the rewards.

		Reward Basis	
		Effort Productivity Responses	Time Interval
Knowledge of When to Expect Reward	Fixed (Yes)	A Piece Work	B Weekly Salary
	Variable (No)	C Gambling	D

FIGURE 1. Schedules of reinforcement.

In reward schedule C, which is similar to what happens in a gambling situation, individuals cannot anticipate when the reward will come, but they know that they must continue to expend effort and continue to respond if they want to be rewarded. This schedule also produces high levels of effort because there is an incentive. The only sure way to get the reward is to continue participating.

The implications of schedules of reinforcement for teaching are reasonably clear. Whenever possible, students who are on a fixed interval reinforcement schedule in which rewards come after a set time period should be moved to a different schedule where rewards are based on productivity or cooperation.

Because there is a fair degree of variability in what students are capable of producing, the teacher can negotiate with particular students how much work or cooperation is expected if they are to enjoy a reward. What teachers can negotiate with students is what may be thought of as "successive approximation to a goal." Under successive approximation, the reward may be given at first for a small amount of work; then the amount of work required is increased as the student improves, either in skill, attitude, or both.

Charting behavior. Keeping a chart is a behavior modification technique that provides a record of student growth towards a goal. The chart can be kept either by the student or the teacher and is an excellent way to motivate students and encourage their cooperation. What is excellent about behavior charting is that it teaches students about the process one must engage in to be successful.

The steps in behavior charting are as follows:

Step 1. The teacher, student, or both identify a problem. For example, the teacher observes that Mary does not read independently during part of the reading lesson when students read library books.

Step 2. The teacher keeps a record of how much reading Mary does for one week to establish a baseline.

Step 3. The teacher and Mary then discuss the problem and negotiate a goal of how many pages would constitute reasonable improvement. During this negotiation, the teacher explains why it is important to read more, and they discuss what the barriers are that prevent Mary from cooperating. During this negotiation phase, Mary must be helped to understand why the goal is important and worth achieving. She must also become aware of what steps must be taken to overcome the barriers to the goal. In Mary's case, the barrier was that the books she selected for free-time independent reading were too difficult for her level of ability. By selecting books that were more appropriate for her ability, she was able to read more with greater enjoyment.

If the class is taught how to chart their own behavior, students can keep their records without adding to the teacher's burden. In Figure 2 we see Mary's record. The first five days show the baseline period prior to the negotiation between the teacher and Mary. Then, days 1–14 represent Mary's progress to the goal. The goal chosen was six pages of reading during the reading period.

Step 4. As a follow-up, the teacher and Mary met to evaluate the progress made towards the goal. If the goal has not been met, they can discuss different methods to

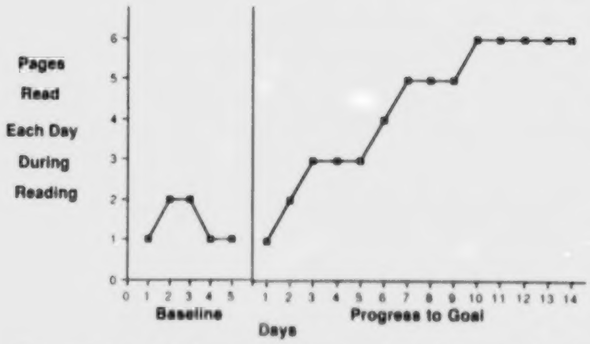

FIGURE 2. Mary's behavior modification chart of pages read each period.

use to reach the goal. However, in Mary's case, she met her goal by day 10.

Token economics. Another way to motivate students is to provide them with token reinforcers, which can be used to earn certain privileges. The token reinforcement system is actually a variation of the behavior charting process. In the charting process the teacher and student must agree that a problem exists, that a reasonable goal can be established, and that some method can be worked out that should lead the student towards the goal. What is added to the charting procedure when using a token economy is that token incentives are used as the student moves towards the goal. The tokens are then traded in to get some special privilege, goal, or prize.

Here are some examples of how tokens are used in schools. One teacher puts marbles as tokens in a jar each time the students are cooperative during a lesson. When the level of marbles reaches a certain point, the class is treated to a movie.

In another school, the cooperative students get a token each day. At the end of the week, students with five tokens can spend an hour reading a book or playing a game. Those without five tokens must sit in a special room where they make up the work they failed to do during the week.

How to use rewards as incentives in schools. There may be hidden costs in using token reinforcers and rewards indiscriminately. We can safely assume that whenever students are presented with a variety of school tasks, such as solving arithmetic problems, writing an essay, reading a library book, or watching a movie, there will be some activities they prefer more than others. Some tasks the students enjoy so much that they engage in the activity on their own. Other tasks are disliked to the extent that some students would never engage in the activity unless assigned the task by a teacher.

What happens when teachers use rewards for activities that the students already enjoy doing? For example, Mary, who read very little on her own, recognized the value and importance of reading. In fact, when an appropriate book was chosen commensurate with her level of reading ability, she actually enjoyed reading. Lepper and Greene (1978) found that when students are rewarded for engaging in activities they enjoy, they begin to think of those activities as work. When the incentives are withdrawn, their participation level actually decreases.

The appropriate use of reward incentives is to engage students in behavior for which they see little value. In other words, often, there is little to be gained by extrinsic rewards when the student achieves a goal already perceived by that student as worthwhile. Mary did not requires any special incentives. She valued reading but was having a difficult time with the books she was selecting. Reading more pages each day and enjoying the reading was reward in itself. Additional extrinsic incentives could have been self-defeating.

Quality Control—The Need for Frequent Reports to Parents

By the time report cards are seen by parents, so much time has elapsed that often there is little that can be done to help students who need to alter their behavior. What is needed is a better way to let parents know on a frequent (weekly) basis how their children are doing.

A successful parent reporting technique uses a form that goes home with the students each Friday. Each Monday the signed form is returned to school by the student.

If the student has been cooperative, the front of the form with a smiling face on it is signed by the teacher and is shown to the parent. Parents who cooperate with the school reward their children in some manner when the smiling face is brought home.

If the student has broken a rule or has been uncooperative, on the other side of the form there is a category to be checked by the student at the time the infraction occurs. In addition, the student can write on the form a more explicit description of what went wrong, such as "I failed to do my homework assignment on Tuesday."

Again, when parents who support school policy get a report indicating failure to cooperate, the parent takes corrective action to reduce the likelihood that the trouble will continue.

WHAT ARE THE NONBEHAVIORISTIC APPROACHES TO MOTIVATING THE UNMOTIVATED?

From Behavioristic to Cognitive Approaches to Motivation

By the 1960s there was growing recognition among psychologists that behavioristic explanations of behavior had severe limitations. Human behaviors, such as language acquisition and reading comprehension, could not be explained by behavioristic theory. In addition, there were large groups of students who were not responding to the usual rewards and incentives offered by schools. Psychologists also raised questions about the function of rewards. Behaviorists, such as Thorndike and Skinner, believed that rewards or tokens stamped in or grafted a behavior to the stimulus with which they were associated. Cognitively oriented psychologists, on the other hand, viewed the role of reward differently. They thought that reward simply served as feedback to the learner indicating that what he or she was doing was a move in the right direction towards the goal.

Moral Education

Recently, cognitive psychologists have taken on a new challenge, one that has been troubling to educators for some time. How does one motivate humans who do not seem to respond to the usual incentives? To illustrate the problem, I would like to describe a situation that a coach encountered. The story is true, it has a happy ending, and it has an important message.

In Brazil, there was a teenager by the name of Jaquim Cruz whom a track coach recognized as having natural running speed. The coach approached Cruz and asked if he would be willing to join his track team and train. As an incentive the coach told the boy that by training he could become a famous runner. Cruz refused, saying that he enjoyed playing ball too much and was not interested in track. The second time the coach approached Cruz, the coach told him that by becoming a first-rate athlete, he could get a scholarship that would pay for a college education. Again, Cruz refused. On the third attempt, the coach asked Cruz to describe his life and his family. Cruz said his family was so poor that they lived in a dirt-floor shack, and his father, who was quite sick, was unable to get medical attention for a chronic illness. With that information, the coach presented a new incentive to the youth. The coach said that if Cruz became a famous runner, he could help his family get decent housing and medical care. Cruz was attracted to this goal and immediately began to train. Because of his natural ability and the training he received, he eventually became the world's greatest 800-meter runner, winning the 1984 gold medal for Brazil and getting the house and medical care for his family.

This true story illustrates the power of moral education and moral goals. Cruz was not willing to cooperate for personal gain, but he had a higher goal and orientation—to help his family. What is of interest in this discussion of motivating the unmotivated is that the usual incentives, such as money, were ineffective in motivating Cruz. However, there were things he cared for beyond money, and what had been instilled in him were values and attitudes that are learned through moral education.

Moral values as incentives for learning. In 1960, psychiatrist Robert Coles (1967) watched 6-year-old Ruby Bridges walk through crowds of hostile Whites who spat at her, threatened her, and called her vile names for integrating a New Orleans grade school. This went on for months, but despite the abuse she received from the adults in the community, she studied eagerly at school and played happily at home at night.

Coles noticed that one day when Ruby was walking through the hostile crowd to gain entrance to the school, she began to talk to one tough-looking person who had been particularly cruel to her. Upon questioning Ruby, Coles discovered that she had been explaining to that person how important getting an education was, and she had also prayed for him. What fortified this little girl was a remarkably deep faith and love for learning that came from her parents' words and examples. Ruby's parents were abjectly poor and illiterate. They had no real way to protect their daughter except through the values they instilled in her. They had managed to give her an intense respect for learning and a sense of forgiveness to those who wronged her.

Dr. Coles concluded from his studies of children that they have a craving for moral purpose that is as deep as their need for food, clothing, and understanding. Children need a purpose in life, a reason for being that extends beyond one's self, and that moral purpose can provide the energy and drive for working hard and cooperating in school.

In fact, moral education is considered to be more important than technical education in Soviet and Chinese schools, and in U.S. schools until about the 1940s moral education was important. If one considers the nature of these societies, the emphasis on instilling moral values makes good sense. Because there is less opportunity to enjoy financial rewards for work effort in the industrial marketplace, Soviet and Chinese society must rely on the desire of the citizens to work hard. If monetary rewards are absent, then some other incentive must operate, and that incentive to work hard as a value is instilled through moral education. In the United States, during the period of heavy immigration to this country, the goal of moral education was to "Americanize" the population, to make the mass of immigrants feel that they had a responsibility to this country. Essentially, moral education in American schools was what President Kennedy meant when he said during his inaugural speech, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country."

Dr. Coles believes that many of the questions children ask have to do with their need to have a moral frame of reference. Why should I share? Why should I work hard? Why should I study at school? Why should I do my homework? What the child seeks is a reason for having less through sharing, a reason for enduring discomfort through hard work, a reason for giving up play and good times for study. It is the responsibility of the home and school to offer the student through words and examples answers to these questions, and, by so doing, provide the student with a moral code, a cognitive map for charting one's course through the sea of life.

First things first: Values before skills. Sperry Corporation has a motto: "Excellence is attitude." Before there can be excellent work, there has to be an attitude or desire to excel. This desire to excel does not depend on extrinsic reinforcers but on an internal desire to be competent.

Actually, a hidden element in Japan's success is the moral education that Japanese children receive. The early years of Japanese education teach children they are members of a social group and that membership carries with it the need for "right action, thoughts, and values." Merry White, Director of International Education at Harvard's Graduate School of Education (1987) states, "In the first grade, before doing anything academic, the teacher spends the first part of the year getting the children socialized to the ways of the school and the habits of working together in groups. Children are even responsible for cleaning the school." Children in Japan work in small groups where they learn to cooperate and they learn responsibility to the group.

If we wish to raise achievement in the United States and develop a hyperliterate society, educators need to reemphasize moral purpose and help students to understand why cooperation and hard work in the classroom are essential. The powerful motivation that comes from moral purpose can activate and motivate the unmotivated. It seems that moral education and purpose is most essential for the alienated students in our schools.

Teaching Style: Combining Humanistic and Task Oriented Teaching Style to Motivate Students

In this paper, we are exploring the ways teachers can most effectively motivate students to work hard and cooperate in order to become hyperliterate. A most important factor in motivating people to do their best is the relationship that exists between workers and their supervisors, athletes and their coaches, students and their teachers.

The evidence from a variety of fields is that the nature of the relationship and the degree of emotional bonding that exists between the workers and their supervisor has a profound effect on the quality of the work that is performed. Peters and Waterman (1982) studied the most successful corporations in the United States and found that effective supervisors tended to be warm, friendly, encouraging, and supportive, and functioned almost like cheerleaders in their interactions with those they supervised. In 1988, I interviewed two athletic coaches at the University of Minnesota who had taken what they called "recreational level" teams, and, in the space of a few years of coaching, the teams had improved to the point where they were considered among the best in the nation. Coach Roethlisberger, the gymnastic coach, and Coach Robinson, the wrestling coach, agreed that what they had accomplished had nothing to do with technical aspects or methods used in the sports. They both thought the critical factor was a psychological variable pertaining to how they interacted with the team members. They combined humanistic and task-oriented approaches in their styles of interaction with their athletes. Both coaches said they were demanding. They demanded that each athlete live up to his potential. Failure—rationalized by "I did my best"—was not an option. Athletes were asked to set up reasonable goals, and they were expected to achieve them. The coaches were supportive and caring in that they helped the athletes in every way possible to achieve the goals.

Other evidence for the importance of humanistic approaches in the pursuit of task-oriented goals comes from sled dog racing. The most grueling and longest sled dog race in the world is the Alaskan Iditarod, which was won in 1985, 1986, and 1987 by women. When asked if women had any special advantage over men in this race, the women said they developed a closer bond with the animals, and, consequently, their dogs tried harder to win.

The medical profession has also recognized how important the patient-doctor relationship can be in helping patients. Dr. Grey Diamond, founder of the School of Medicine at the University of Missouri at Kansas City, who is a leader in humanistic medicine, has seen his ideas put into practice by other medical schools, such as the Harvard Medical School's New Pathway Program. Doctors who practice humanistic medicine know it leads to greater patient cooperation and rapport.

Although there is suggestive evidence that humanistic supervision works in the corporate world, medicine, and sports, does it work in teaching? Recently, my graduate students and I completed a study in which we compared University of Minnesota professors who had won distinguished teaching awards with other faculty who had not won that award. Their students were asked to rate the professors on such variables as the extent to which the faculty were humanistic in their approach, helped the students achieve their best, and gave the students the feeling that they could achieve anything they wanted if they worked hard enough at the goal. The award-winning faculty scored significantly higher than the nonaward faculty on these items.

Consistent findings about the value of combining a humanistic and task oriented approach indicate that it seems prudent to recommend this style of teacher-student interaction to motivate students to higher achievement.

Goals and How To Achieve Them: The Role of Hard Work and Cooperation

Shanker (1986), president of the American Federation of Teachers, said that in the 1930s, when he attended school, it was assumed that if a student did not succeed in school, it was the student's fault. However, by the time he began to teach in the 1950s things had changed. Teachers were told that every child could be educated, and, if some students failed, it was the school's fault. Again, Shanker says, there is a shift, and there is growing recognition that both the student and the school have shared responsibilities. It is the school's responsibility to help build character in the student, to induce students to want to act virtuously. By virtue, he means habits of moderate action, regard for the rights of others, and desire to help others.

Although schools have the responsibility to build character and to provide moral education, it is the students' responsibility to work hard and to follow the moral guidelines that schools have fostered.

Unfortunately, what many students do not understand is the role of hard work in success. Too many students fail to understand that even those with natural talent had to work hard to develop their gifts. Feldman's (1979) study of the gifted shows that they spend endless hours honing their skills.

Our students see successful people all about, on television, in the papers, and on the street. They see the products of success but not the process. They frequently think that success, skill, ability, and talent are the results of God-given talent and fate. They believe that you either have the talent or you do not. They fail to understand, and they do not see, the effort that goes into building talent.

Donna Shalala (1987), the chancellor at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, concludes that the Japanese economic success is built upon hard work. She states, "School children in Japan work very hard." Such hard work has positive consequences. Many Japanese taxi drivers can speak English, and basic literacy in Japan is nearly 100%. According to Shalala, the educational task facing our students is difficult, and, in order to achieve these goals, hard work is as essential in academics as it is in sports. She claims we must help our students to understand that the human mind and the human body develop skill the same way, through effort and practice. Shalala believes that learning requires repetition, and thinking demands practice. She states, "If practice works for the body, why not the mind?" We as educators must help our students learn what leads to success. It is not fate, but work and attitude. Anyone and everyone can become a success, if they work for it.

If our schools are to prepare the next generation of students for the literacy demands of the 21st century, teachers will have to motivate students to work harder. For many students who are alienated, motivation will have to come through instilling new attitudes and values in them.

SUMMARY

The level of reading skills required to function successfully in society increases with each generation. For the 21st century, schools will have to produce a hyperliterate society. Of the several barriers to literacy, such as learning disabilities or poor methods and materials, lack of student motivation is a major factor.

Motivating the unmotivated is essential if we are to produce a hyperliterate society for the next generation. There are two general approaches to motivation. The first is behavioral in its approach and uses external incentives and techniques, such as behavior modification charts and contracts. The second approach is cognitive-humanistic and establishes values and attitudes in the student to induce hard work and cooperation in school. Although many students desire success and want to achieve goals, they appear to be unaware of the processes which lead to self-fulfillment. Schools are an appropriate means for instilling moral values and knowledge of processes that lead to success.

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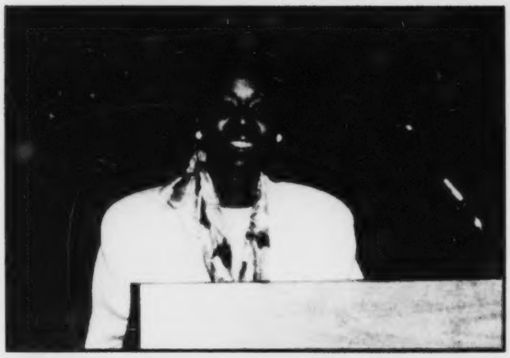
Chapter 11

EDUCATION IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY: A CHANGING AMERICA— A MANDATE FOR REFORM



Noma LeMoine
Los Angeles Unified School District,
Los Angeles, CA

All men are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly.—*Martin Luther King, Jr.*

The road to a full equality and to political, social, and economic empowerment begins with education. Yet, in the words of U.S. Representative Augustus Hawkins, "We are faced with an American educational system whose Achilles heel is its unequal treatment of low income, disadvantaged, and minority students." This deficiency in our system is resulting in the miseducation of too many young Americans, and, unless there is reform, the repercussions will impair us all.

Today's America is increasingly pluralistic. It is an America where ethnic and linguistic minorities in many urban cities are fast approaching a majority. As a result of the recent influx of immigrants and of the many ethnic minorities represented in the population, a rich cultural and linguistic diversity permeates American society. America is becoming increasingly pluralistic, and this reality is, of necessity, altering the way we view education.

PROFILE OF AMERICA'S MINORITY STUDENTS

In 1986, four million students entered school in America. Of that group, 25% were from families in poverty, 15% were immigrants who speak a language other than English, 10% had poorly educated or illiterate parents, 14% were children of teenagers, and 30% were "latchkey" children who reported home to an empty house. Twenty-nine million of America's minorities are African Americans. As of 1986 nearly 9 million African Americans were in poverty, representing almost one-third of the U.S. poverty population. Over 20% of America's African American population is unemployed, a figure that increases to 50% for African American teenagers, and the statistics regarding the mediocre level of academic achievement among African American elementary and secondary students are alarming.

Hispanics account for almost 40% of all immigrants to America and include Cubans, Central and South Americans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans. Many of the new Hispanic immigrants are undocumented and uneducated. The percentage of Hispanics living in poverty is high; three-fourths of them speak a language other than English, and less than one-third graduate from high school.

As of 1984, there were about 540,000 Vietnamese refugees in the United States with about 40% living in California. It is estimated that by the turn of the century the number of Asian students in California schools will double. Approximately 10% of Asian families live below the poverty line, and many of them speak languages other than English.

Overall one in every five children growing up in America today (over 1.4 million) live in poverty, and about 23 million speak a language other than English. Between 1980 and 1986 the numbers of both minority and poor children in America increased dramatically. The impact of poverty, including inadequate health care and nutritional deficiencies, and the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of American students make the educator's task of assuring academic success for all students a challenging one, to say the least.

THE CHALLENGE

In 1983, the National Commission of Excellence in Education reported in *A Nation at Risk—1983* on the declining academic competitiveness, and it noted, "Part of what is at risk is the promise first made on this continent. All, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost." Perhaps the measure of our success, as educators and professionals, and as a country that is committed to improving the quality of life for all of its citizens, will be the extent to which education can provide the opportunity for every child to reach his or her fullest potential. The results of miseducating children include underachievement, high expulsion rates, increased unemployment, teen pregnancy and drug abuse, higher drop-out rates, and a swelling prison population. Each of these is too devastating a price for America or its children to pay. When our students lose, professionals and educators lose, and when we lose, the whole of American society loses. America is one of the greatest countries on earth, but even a country so grand cannot afford to "write off" large numbers of its citizens. An investment in America's minorities is an investment in an even greater America.

FACILITATING REFORM

To assure America's minorities access to a relevant and appropriate education, reform in many areas is needed. Six important areas in which reform needs to occur are research, educator attitude and beliefs, bilingual instructional strategies, the curriculum, the role of the speech/language pathologist, and recruitment of ethnic minority and bilingual speech/language pathologists.

Research

The goal of American educators and of language, speech, and hearing professionals is to ensure that all students, including minority students, receive a quality education. In order to do that we must place a new emphasis on research. The changing demography of America mandates the need for a body of empirical research on cultural and linguistic minorities that is valid, methodologically sound and that discerns, delineates, and defines the problems that hinder the effective education of minority students. We need research that sets forth in sharp, clear-cut detail effective educational strategies and methodologies that will provide positive outcomes. We must provide resources to support research on minority populations, research that targets the development of culturally and linguistically appropriate assessment tools. In schools where educators and professionals are faced daily with meeting the needs of diverse students, the scarcity of appropriate assessment tools standardized on cultural and linguistic minorities has been and continues to be an impedance to an appropriate education. The percentage of minorities that continue to be incorrectly diagnosed as learning disabled or retarded is too high, and it is only through ongoing study and research that we may be able to turn this pattern around.

Research partnerships across professions are necessary in order to maximize the value of comprehensive data and findings. Educators, psychologists, audiologists, and speech-language pathologists must work collectively to develop a body of knowledge that will facilitate the designing of effective programs for minority children.

CHANGING EDUCATOR ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

The measure of our own success will be the extent to which we free our people to realize what their imagination and energy can achieve.—*Lyndon B. Johnson*

As educators, perhaps the greatest gift that we can give to any child is to believe in him or her. Studies that have examined processes associated with higher student achievement have consistently shown that self-concept is positively correlated with student achievement. According to Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schweitzer, and Wisenbaker (1979), teachers and principals in higher achieving schools express the belief that students can master their academic work, and they expect them to do so. In contrast, Brookover and colleagues report that schools achieving at lower levels are characterized by low expectations on the part of teachers, principals, and the students themselves.

Unfortunately, the educational institutions in this country have played a vital role, albeit unwittingly, in the perpetuation of a system that treats minorities with disdain. The orientation of American educators has been that minority students are cognitively deficient, linguistically impaired, and culturally defective. These ethnocentric biases have fostered an atmosphere in the classroom that is antithetical to building the positive self-concept that is so necessary for academic success.

Bilingualism, bidialectalism, and cultural diversity are not deterrents to success in school; the inability of educators to understand, appreciate, and accept diversity is perhaps the greatest deterrent of all. For many minority children the first school experience is a negative one. The expectations the teachers have of those children are discontinuous with their culture, their language, and with many of their social values. The children are left feeling intimidated, invalidated, and confused. The educators' lack of knowledge about the children's cultures and languages and, all too often, intolerance of the differences set the stage for the miseducation of minority children.

Learning is fostered in a healthy environment, one in which the student is accepted, supported, and respected. As educators we must learn to acknowledge and appreciate the differences minority children bring with them, to respect their potential and make every effort to change the course for minority children in America.

A NEW LOOK AT BILINGUAL INSTRUCTIONAL STRATEGIES

The growing body of research on first and second language acquisition is altering the way we look at bilingual instruction. Of particular significance is the work of Stephen D. Krashen and Jim Cummins.

According to Stephen Krashen (1981), language fluency cannot be learned but is acquired subconsciously, involuntarily, and effortlessly. His theory, which emphasizes "picking up" language through understanding, discredits the traditional method of teaching English as a second language (ESL) that placed an emphasis on memorization of vocabulary and grammar. The role of the teacher is changed from that of "drill master" to that of one who provides "comprehensible input," avoids correcting errors, and allows the student to speak only when he or she is ready.

Jim Cummins, another recent contributor to second language acquisition theory, has identified two dimensions of language proficiency (Cummins, 1979). The first dimension, which he refers to as Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), represents the language learner's facility with surface structure that includes the pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary of the language. The second dimension Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) refers to those language features that are most cognitively demanding and necessary for academic success. According to Cummins, CALP in one language contributes to CALP in any other. Cummins opposes the notion of separate language development and, with his "dual-iceberg" theory, postulates overlap between L1 and L2 CALP. Thus, according to this theory, instruction through a first language not only promotes proficiency in the use of the surface structures of that language, but also promotes the CALP skills that underlie the development of literacy in the student's first and second languages.

The research of Krashen and Cummins make a strong case for bilingual education and lays the groundwork for instructional strategies with predictable outcomes. Their views suggest an instructional model that scans a period of at least 5 to 7 years. It stresses the importance of "affect" and assures us that students will acquire communicative proficiency in the second language if exposed to sufficient amounts of "comprehensible input" in a positive affective environment.

ALTERNATIVE CURRICULUM FOR MINORITY STUDENTS

Alternative curricular models must have as their bases an accurate analysis of the minority children's linguistic, cultural, historical, and social patterns. The inferior education to which minority students often are subjected to is frequently the result of the educator's limited knowledge of and insensitivity to differences in learning style.

Janice Hale-Benson (1987) has analyzed the historical and political situation of African Americans in America and offers an alternative curricular model for African American children that takes into consideration their proclivity toward movement activities, nonverbal communication, and rhythm. The curriculum she outlines recommends teaching strategies that utilize "body language," "music," and "movement activities" in the classroom.

Linguistic diversity is the one characteristic that most of America's minorities have in common. They are native speakers of a language or dialect other than "standard" English. The centrality of language for success in school is recognized widely. Thus, increasing the focus on language instruction in the curriculum may be a key ingredient in assuring academic success for minority students. Instructional programs that emphasize the integration of listening, thinking, speaking, writing, and reading skills may well be the curriculum of choice for minority students.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGIST

Traditionally, the role of the speech-language pathologist in serving linguistic minorities has been determined by the language proficiency of the individual. According to the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (ASHA) (1985), if the individual is "bilingual English proficient" and exhibits a communicative disorder in English, assessment and remediation services may be provided in English, and some "elective clinical services may be provided for bilingual English-proficient speakers who do not present with a true communicative disorder." Bilingual and monolingual individuals who are proficient in their native language but not in English are to receive assessment and intervention in the primary language. According to ASHA, the speech-language pathologist should have "native or near native" fluency in both the minority language and the English language and should be able to describe the process of normal speech and language acquisition for bilingual and monolingual individuals. He or she should be able to recognize cultural factors that affect the delivery of services and be able to apply intervention strategies for treating disorders in the minority language. For bilingual individuals who possess limited communicative competence in both languages should be assessed in both languages to determine language dominance, and intervention should be provided in the "most appropriate language" for intervention.

ASHA makes clear the nature and level of competence required of speech-language pathologists providing assessment and intervention services to bilingual and non-English speaking persons. However, it acknowledges in the same position paper that many speech-language pathologists do not possess the recommended competencies necessary to serve adequately speakers with limited English proficiency. The Association offers some alternative strategies for procuring appropriate services.

In September of 1989, ASHA reported that 40–50% of its members responding to a survey said they had no professional education in the areas of bilingual and multicultural populations (Shewan & Malm, 1989). Another ASHA survey in 1988 reported that 37% of the respondents served clients for whom English was not the native language. The percentage that reported providing ESL or "accent reduction" instruction to clients was 13.9%. When asked how they addressed the needs of foreign language speakers on their caseload, 48.6% reported that they relied most frequently on a family member, a friend of the client, or the most accessible bilingual individual in their employment facility as an interpreter.

On the whole, the above data profile a large percentage of speech-language pathologists as lacking in the course work and competencies necessary to provide appropriate services to diverse minority language populations. This reality, along with the acknowledged use by speech-language pathologists of "stop-gap" methods to address the needs of linguistic minorities, is cause for concern. The problem is further exacerbated by the scarcity of nonbiased assessment tools for determining language dominance and proficiency.

Is it possible that the services speech-language pathologists are providing to limited English students are thinly disguised ESL lessons? Could it be that our deficiencies in the necessary competencies and the limitations of biased assessment tools are resulting in the misdiagnosis of limited English proficient individuals as disordered? I am obliged to answer these questions in the affirmative. It may be time for our profession to look seriously at our role in serving language minorities and to expand our services to non-English speakers.

RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF MINORITY STUDENTS

The increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of our society demands an increase in the representation of diversity among the professionals who provide services to minorities. According to an ASHA study, less than 5% of its membership are minorities, and less than 1% are fluent in languages other than English. Our profession has a responsibility to work actively to increase the number of language and racial/ethnic minority individuals who become speech-language professionals. The bicultural and bilingual skills they will bring to the profession will benefit both the profession and the individuals we serve.

The challenge for America's educator and for speech-language and hearing professionals is to provide for our clients and students an opportunity to achieve their goals and dreams. We must assure that America's minorities are not, because of their diversity, prohibited from an appropriate education.

> I believe that a great society can master all dilemmas. It begins with the ancient ideal that each citizen must have an equal chance to share the abundance man has created. It is committed to striking racial injustice from the pages of American life and remedying the results of this enormous wrong. It seeks to lift those who have been buried in poverty because of lack of education, or bad health, or blighted environment. It offers the chance to work and live the decent life which a rich and just country owes to all its people.—*Lyndon B. Johnson*

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CHAPTER 12

LITERACY IN AMERICA: CULTURAL CHALLENGES TO PROGRESS AND PRODUCTIVITY

DWIGHT M. ELLIS
National Association of Broadcasters,
Washington, DC

The many challenges to American progress and productivity for the future demand vision and leadership today. Few can deny that as we move rapidly toward the year 2000, many sobering realities must be considered and managed by all of us, regardless of race, culture, gender, or economic status.

The days of global isolation are over for the nations of the world. We live at a time of economic interdependence and technological advances, bringing us closer together than ever before in a world whose population continues to expand to a predicted 7 billion people in the year 2007. Ninety-five percent of this growth will be in Third-World Countries. In the United States, by the year 2000, Hispanics, Pacific Asians, and African Americans will constitute more than half of all Americans ("Toronto Thinkers," 1987).

Our nation, as never before, is moving to a new diversity with climates of change and difficulties ahead that require urgent planning and long-term solutions. The challenge of literacy is one of pervasive impact and concern for every citizen of our country.

It has been said that today's successful manager must be a problem solver, innovator, motivator, multilingual communicator, team player, and a wellspring of creativity. But, industry is having problems bringing its managers up to these standards and experiencing even greater difficulty finding and preparing a competent workforce. An article published earlier this year on the subject stated that, ". . . companies are trying to create corps of managers who can work under the pressure of rapidly changing technology, shrinking product development cycles, and intense competition" ("Shaking Up Old Ways," 1989).

It has been estimated that U.S. companies spent $210 billion last year training members of the workforce, using more than 3,000 private training and consultant firms to develop new leadership for profit and survival in today's global economy ("Shaking Up Old Ways," 1989). Managers developed from such training must work with a growing generation of adult Americans, of whom 75% cannot point to the Persian Gulf on a map and 61% cannot identify the State of Massachusetts. American schools graduate 700,000 students a year who cannot read at the fourth-grade level, resulting in U.S. corporations spending about $25 billion each year to teach employees basic skills they should have learned in school ("Melting Pot Theory," 1987). When one considers the current status of the majority of new entrants for the workforce of the next decade, the challenges ahead become patently clear.

Demographers tell us that more than 80% of the emerging workforce for the rest of this century and into the year 2000 will be women, minorities, and immigrants. This may mean that survival and advancement in America's evolving high tech and diverse environment may require fluency in three languages: English, computer, and Spanish ("An Upbeat Forecast," 1989).

CULTURAL AND LANGUAGE ISSUES

While communication is at the core of success and progress in our society, studies show that many students have not mastered the skill of interacting in certain situations. A 1986 survey by a Department of Education project revealed that while students could generally write minimally, they had problems in their abilities to analyze, persuade, or tell a story. Black and Hispanic students and those from poor urban communities demonstrated the least performance, and girls did better than boys. Explanations for the survey's findings ranged from lack of reading materials at home to inadequate teaching and unmanageable class sizes.

Increasingly, in today's growing underclass, the issues are literacy and values. Imagine the pressures on a miseducated young adult to feel secure and comfortable in a literate society becoming more information-prone with every passing year. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics, there was a 26.7% high-school dropout rate in 1982. In a study done 5 years later among 18- to 19-year-olds, only 77% of Whites, 65% of Blacks, and 55% of Hispanics completed high school (Bell & Boyer, ND).

The illiteracy rates that follow such patterns ultimately are damaging to the economies of our communities and our nation. The decades ahead will not support workers with low-education achievement for work in labor and skill-related jobs. Approximately 90% of new jobs through 1995 will be in services, compared to 8% in manufacturing. But, as more White males are drawn into white-collar jobs, women and minorities will be sought after to fill hard-hat positions (Bell & Boyer, ND).

Generally, a high-school education is recommended for construction jobs, posing a problem for Blacks and Hispanics whose high school dropout rate is higher than for Whites.

It has been suggested that industry leaders expand efforts to encourage students to finish high school and stimulate the interest of women and minorities in construction trades. The construction industry is also urged to support government apprenticeship training initiatives. Failure to address the anticipated shortage of skilled workers could result in increased construction costs and lower productivity, encourage more automation of the construction process, and increase the use of prefabricated building parts ("Women, Minorities," 1989).

The National Assessment of Education Progress estimates that 13% of the nation's 17-year-olds are "functionally illiterate," or unable to read or write sufficiently to perform daily tasks, such as reading job notices, filling out job applications, making change correctly, or reading a bus schedule. Also, in a recent survey of companies, 50% reported that managers and supervisors were unable to write paragraphs free of grammatical errors, and skilled and semi-skilled employees, including bookkeepers, were unable to use decimals and fractions in math problems.

But, as formidable assaults are made on the challenges of illiteracy, equal attention must be given to fundamental issues of language and culture to obtain more meaningful insight into current barriers to greater self-determination for racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. For example, the cultural transformation of the predominately White suburban region of the San Gabriel Valley in California over the last 8 years by over 100,000 Chinese and other Asians was described in the *Los Angeles Times* as "a window on the year 2000" for many parts of the state. It was said that, "Some speak and read four languages, while others are illiterate in their native tongues and have little hope of ever learning English" ("Asian Influx," 1987).

More and more, Asian Americans are beginning to assert their presence. Last month, while speaking before the 11th Annual Convention of the Organization of Chinese Americans, California Secretary of State, March Fong Eu, discussed the awakening of the "safe minority," Chinese Americans. Sharing her experiences and views with an audience of over 600 conferees, she said: "... things are changing. Things have changed. Americans of Asian ancestry have moved out of the ghettos and into the mainstream. From wash rooms to board rooms. We're not so quiet any more," she continued, "not so invisible. Not so safe. Some would say we have become downright pushy" (Eu, 1989). The passive minority has become active.

Also, for populations of recent immigrants, language differences have been cause for controversy. The issue of English as the official language of the United States has caused much debate in areas of the nation with high Hispanic and Asian American populations because it touches on new concerns of acculturation and public policies. Dr. Reynoldo Macias, Director of the University of California Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Research, presented a paper 2 years ago during the national Hispanic Media Conference in Los Angeles outlining the genesis of language tolerance in the U.S.: "English came to be spoken by Africans through forced domestication of slave labor," he stated. "... the major colonial languages were English, German, French, and Spanish, with a little bit of Dutch, Russian, and several other languages thrown in" (Macias, 1987).

Dr. Macias divided the U.S. language policies from the founding of the nation to present day into "tolerance oriented" and "repressive policies." "Tolerance oriented" policies were applied to the communities of Germans, French, and other colonials, Mexicans, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans.

Speaking during the same conference, Luis Valdez, former union organizer and now a successful film producer of such films as "La Bamba" said: "It's time to be who we are, because this is our time ... the 21st century will produce a blending of peoples that we have never known, because America is destined to be the place where the races meet."

Expressing his view of diversity as related to African Americans, Dr. Price M. Cobbs (1989), President of Pacific Management Systems, presented prescriptions for Black survival for the coming century in a summary paper issued as part of the National Urban League's *The State of Black America 1989*. He said that,

> A most powerful tool in combatting the fear of success is a deeper understanding and acceptance of one's individual and group cultural differences, ... The Black experience in this country has been a complex one. ... While it has involved the differences of race and skin color, it has also involved cultural differences. Honoring and valuing these differences remains an unfinished task for leaders in government, industry, academia, and all other walks of life. ... How they champion the ideas of workforce diversity and cultural pluralism will define the society of the next century. (pp. 14–15)

Because Canada has had such long-term experience with immigrants and multicultural government policies, it is appropriate to note its status and reactions to challenges posed by the emerging diversity affecting all of North America.

Frank Feather, President of Global Management Bureau, was quoted in a 1987 *Toronto Star* article as saying that Canada "will be an increasingly multiracial society because of an influx of people from the developing countries, especially from countries in the Pacific rim. Because of this mix, Canada will no longer be a bilingual country by the year 2007" ("Toronto Thinkers," 1987).

Currently, Canada's Hispanic community is estimated to number 200,000. In the last 3 years, Hispanics have been arriving at the rate of 15,000 a year. Another burgeoning multicultural group in Canada is the Chinese Canadians, estimated to be over 250,000 of the 2.8 million population of Toronto. Black Canadians, largely of West Indian heritage, have been estimated to number close to 300,000 in Canada's largest metropolitan area (Ruiz, 1988).

THE CHALLENGE TO GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

Education consistently is touted as "the most precious asset of a free society, especially a society which rewards individual talent and industry without regard to race or humble origins." Last year, $328 billion was spent in the United States on the education of youth; $124 billion was targeted to 15 million high-school graduates attending colleges and universities, while $184 billion was spent on about 51 million elementary and secondary students. Yet, the pernicious cancer of illiteracy continues to spread (Bell & Boyer, ND).

Despite President Bush's pledge to eradicate illiteracy within 8 years and the efforts of First Lady Barbara Bush in making literacy her major public crusade, criticisms abound that the federal bureaucracy has given literacy, especially adult literacy, a low priority. William Pierce recently stated, in a paper for the Southport Institute for Policy Analysis, that "the federal initiative in adult literacy has been minimal, inefficient, and ineffective." He lists among his findings that appropriations for adult literacy total only about 40% of authorized funding; no consistent federal policy has guided the growth of programs since 1965; and no coordination among these programs exists ("The 'Feds,' " 1989).

Currently, 13 major federally supported literacy programs exist. Among them are Adult Basic Education, Even Start, Job Training Partnership Act, VISTA, Adult Education for the Homeless, and Workplace Literacy. A newsletter of the Education Writers Association suggests that the following questions should be posed concerning the viability of the federal effort:

> How do the regulations regarding literacy programs mesh with the needs of recipients? How do adults needing literacy programs find out about them? Do they tend to drift from one program to another? How much of the adult basic education programs are taken up by English-as-a-second-language classes? How much money is business putting up in matching funds? ("The 'Feds,' " 1989)

Nevertheless, it appears that specially affected communities, members of Congress, and private industry are heavily focused on the scourge of illiteracy. The city of Los Angeles has up to 1.5 million adults who can barely read a sixth-grade-level textbook, a condition that could insure permanent unemployment. Three months ago, city officials announced a $1.8 million program, entitled "Opportunity USA, The Discovery Series," based on a 1988 pilot program that taught English and American history to immigrants seeking amnesty. For improvement of reading skills and the encouragement of dropouts to go back to the classroom, 160 half-hour videotapes will be produced. The tapes will be shown on television. Described as an adult version of "Sesame Street," the series is expected to reach at least 500,000 persons ("TV Literacy," 1989).

In the federal legislative arena, a Congressional Task Force on Illiteracy, sponsored by the Congressional Institute on the Future has attempted to keep Congressional staffs informed about various initiatives during 1987 and 1988. Concerned Congressmen working with this effort are Representative Jim Cooper (D-TN) and Representative David Price (D-NC).

Congressman Gus Hawkins (D-CA) has proposed legislation to address the critical needs of the new workforce for the year 2000. Referring to many of his colleagues as political "Rip Van Winkles," he recently introduced the Workforce 2000 Employment Readiness Act of 1989 (H.R. 2235) as a catalyst for meeting the educational and equal employment needs of the post-baby boom generation. The Act will establish an education improvement fund by assessing 0.5% of every federal contract. The fund could amount to as much as $850 million a year, used in part to establish special scholarship funds to encourage minorities to enter fields where they have been previously low in participation, such as engineering, chemistry, and others (Hawkins, 1989).

Facing significant workforce shortages in the 1990s, industry is beginning to respond to issues affecting workers, such as education, child care, and affirmative action, in addition to illiteracy. A *Wall Street Journal* article a few months ago reported a flurry of corporate activity, including new initiatives for recruiting women and minorities, attention to the disabled and older and retired workers, and funding of educational programs from kindergarten through college.

Madelyn Jennings, Senior Vice President for Personnel of the Gannett Company, said about her firm's innovative recruiting thrusts: "It has nothing to do with altruism or concern about society. It has to do with survival." While Kodak executives are helping to restructure the Rochester, New York, school system, Digital Equipment is considering funding K-8 programs. Aetna Life & Casualty in Hartford, Connecticut, is working with local organizations to teach reading and writing to 19- to 24-year-olds ("Company School," 1989).

Even Burger King in downtown Detroit's Renaissance Center has gotten into the act. To reverse the 179% employee turnover rate, the owner applied a strategy of offering to pay the cost of tuition and books for employees attending either of the two local community colleges. This resulted in a dramatic drop in the turnover rate, and the store's rating with the Burger King system for quality of service increased (Rinella & Kopecky, 1989).

The broadcasting industry, sometimes referred to as the world's most powerful enterprise for change and commerce, through its many components and trade association, has been active in literacy campaigns since 1986. It was then that the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) helped launch Project Literacy, the ABC/PBS initiative focusing on illiteracy in America.

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In 1987, the NAB received the President's Award for Private Sector Initiatives for the program developed to demonstrate ways of improving the coordination of local job training resources. Also, a landmark survey, the Omega Study, was sponsored by the NAB to determine how senior corporate executives viewed the need for companies to provide literacy training in the workplace in 1988. Another action by the NAB last year was "Work Works," a highly acclaimed campaign that used popular rock groups to encourage high-school dropouts to enroll in existing local youth placement and training programs. Last summer, about 200,000 youth were exposed to the "Work Works" message, and more than 25,000 minority and inner city youth found jobs or joined job training programs through the program.

Many local stations have been aided by NAB's resources and assistance in launching literacy-related programs. Louisiana broadcasters, for example, were helped in setting up a network of worker retention and reemployment centers. A similar program was replicated in Nebraska, where a statewide centralized toll-free information and referral telephone service, called the Job Link hotline, was installed. It averaged 200 calls a day. Of callers served, 70 to 80% qualified for placement in some type of assistance program.

TOWARD A PRODUCTIVE FUTURE

According to Bureau of Labor Statistics, the labor force will rise by 21 million workers between 1986 and the year 2000. Women will outnumber men by two to one. Minority men and women will capture about an equal number of jobs, while White women will fill about four times as many jobs as White men.

Hispanic and Asian American workers are expected to increase by more than 70%, while the Black labor force will grow by only 27%. That is what we can expect from the emerging workforce of the 90s and into the year 2000 (Task Force on Minorities, 1989).

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Hispanic organization, SER, in Chicago last year, James Duffy, Capital Cities/ABC's president of Communications and executive in charge of PLUS, said that "Blacks and Hispanics are the groups that traditionally have not fared well on average in our educational system."

He called for "regional consortiums of companies and unions and agencies to mount human resources programs beyond their own immediate needs. . . . We are going to have to harness the engine of change, and technology, to help us cope with change [by creating] computerized learning centers with interactive video . . . not hundreds of them, but thousands across this nation" ("Duffy Personally," 1988).

The time has come for a rededication to individual excellence and achievement; a time for reaching back for values shaped from models of the family and responsible role models of the community. As we rush toward the 21st century there will be little time for excuses for failure or lost opportunities.

Consider the consequences of a workplace 5 to 10 years into the future, brimming with high skill jobs for a workforce heavy with individuals who are unable to understand a newspaper or how to complete an application form. This could be our future, one filled with intellectually disabled workers producing substandard goods and services.

Those of us who are parents must reaffirm our commitment to our children and truly understand how we affect their lives and direct their attentions for the future.

A recent example of this can be found in the life successes of one son of immigrants, who described his parents as providing guidance not in the mold of the Brady Bunch, but by their actions. "Children watch the way their parents live their lives. If they like what they see, if it makes sense to them, they will live their lives that way too. If the parents' values seem correct and relevant, the children will follow those values." These are the words of a Black American who rose to become one of America's most powerful military leaders. General Colin Powell has shown that "It can be done" (Wallechinsky, 1989).

All of the federal programs and industry initiatives cannot supplant the strength of the human spirit, nor can they replace the wisdom of determination and character.

Earlier this year, I read an article in a New Orleans newspaper about a 57-year-old Black woman with 28 grandchildren. She worked as a cook while completing her General Educational Development (GED) requirements. The picture in the paper showed her smiling broadly, and if looked closely you could see tears about to fall from her eyes as she clutched a huge book with pages falling out. After 20 years of using a worn and tattered dictionary given to her by a friend, she was overjoyed that she now had 10 new dictionaries, donated by certain readers of the newspaper's series on literacy in Louisiana that featured her as successfully completing her studies.

Of even greater significance was her intention of luring her grandchildren to her home to share in this new treasury of words. "I have a terrible hurt in me about these kids, not knowing things, not being educated," she said. "I see these kids dressed out in all these expensive things . . . but it costs them their lives. I hope that one of these kids who's in trouble or struggling would stop and read the article and say, 'Well if that old lady can do it, I can too' " ("Grandmother's Will," 1989).

It is painful to envision the young people described by this caring grandmother, young Black people who may have slipped into the "dark side" of America—environments that place a third of the nation's 40 million school-aged children at risk of either failing in school, dropping out, or falling victim to crime, drugs, teen-age pregnancy, or chronic unemployment. The payoffs for life on the "dark side," more often than not, are illiteracy, substandard wages, low self-esteem, and a short lifespan.

Yet, they may be like so many of us who want sunshine without heat, thunder without rain, and progress without pain. The ultimate solutions for resolving the conflicts before us during these critical times will be complex, and the process difficult. For, there are waves of change that will carry many of us kicking and screaming into the 21st century.

Black and White Americans must, now and in the future, share their survival and progress with other minorities of diverse cultures and countries of origin. It is time for fresh approaches, new perceptions, and coalitions of purpose. It is time for the expansion of horizons and the elevation of thresholds of acceptance.

While applauding the promise of tomorrow's new technologies, let us not forget the value of the "old technologies" of yesterday—people—because only people can make a difference.

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Chapter 13

EDUCATING LANGUAGE MINORITY CHILDREN: POLITICS, RESEARCH, AND POLICY

James Crawford
Journalist and Author,
Washington, DC

Each year growing numbers of children arrive in our schools with little or no English. How should we teach them? Few would argue for a return to the days of "sink or swim," or *submersion*, a policy of no special help for limited-English-proficient (LEP) students. Such institutionalized neglect was outlawed in the 1970s by federal courts, Congress, and civil-rights authorities. Yet a consensus remains elusive on what affirmative steps are appropriate—not to mention feasible, affordable, or desirable. Should we use native-language instruction, along with classes in English as a second language (ESL), as a way to ease students' transition to the mainstream? Should we put an exclusive emphasis on oral and written English, the essential tools they will need to succeed in school and society? Or should we encourage them to develop rather than discard skills in their native tongues as they learn English; that is, should we promote lasting bilingualism?

Choosing among these alternatives can be difficult on pedagogical grounds alone. The LEP student population is diverse, encompassing up to 80 languages in some school districts. Children's learning styles, cultural and economic backgrounds, and language needs differ significantly. Qualified bilingual and ESL teachers are in short supply, as are administrators experienced with language-minority programs. Parents vary in their attitudes toward bilingual education and toward schooling in general. Research findings on effective teaching methods often seem contradictory.

Policy choices are further complicated by the intrusion of politics. In the 1980s language diversity has come to symbolize a host of other concerns: rapid immigration and demographic change, questions of assimilation and pluralism, and contradictions between national cohesion and minority rights. For some, speaking English has become a political statement. An organized movement has sprung up "in defense of our common language." Proponents assert that bilingual education discourages immigrants from learning English, thereby eroding Americans' most important "social bond." Opponents of this "English Only" campaign have denounced it as a subterfuge, arguing that the assault on bilingualism is merely a pretext for reversing the social gains of Hispanics and Asians.

To make fair and informed judgments about bilingual education, it is necessary to untangle the political and pedagogical strands of the debate. Unfortunately, that goal is rarely achieved.

POLITICS

In 1987–88, the Bilingual Education Act, also known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was reauthorized along with 17 other federal programs as part of an omnibus education bill. In budgetary terms, Title VII represented less than 3% of the total aid package.[1] But during deliberations on the measure, House and Senate education committees spent well over half their time debating the pros and cons of bilingual instruction. Ultimately, Congress approved major cutbacks in funding for bilingual programs. The new law permits the diversion of up to 25% of Title VII grants to nonbilingual classrooms; also, it imposes a 3-year limit on students' participation in transitional bilingual programs.[2] After voting for these provisions, legislators who had previously championed bilingual education conceded that the changes reflected political realities rather than any considered response to educational research.[3]

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[1] The omnibus bill, H.R. 5, authorized a ceiling of $200 million annually for school programs, training, and research under the Bilingual Education Act. Congress appropriated $151.9 million for fiscal 1989.

[2] In transitional bilingual education (TBE), the predominant approach funded under Title VII, children are no longer eligible for native-language instruction after they learn enough English to participate in mainstream classrooms. Title VII also authorizes grants for "developmental bilingual education," or language-maintenance programs, but such programs have rarely been funded. In January 1989, Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos announced that the Bush Administration had no plans to support developmental programs, preferring instead to "maximize instructional services provided to LEP children."

[3] Representative Dale Kildee, the Michigan Democrat who negotiated a compromise with critics of bilingual education, described his role as "a damage control mission" designed to

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Clearly, political realities have favored bilingual education in the past. Title VII was created in 1968, a time of frustration and unrest among racial minorities. The federal government had begun to enact social reforms. Still, there was a sense that Hispanics were being passed over by civil-rights and antipoverty legislation. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas, the prime mover behind the Bilingual Education Act, decried the injustice of imposing Anglo-American culture in the Southwest (and, he might have added, in Puerto Rico) while doing nothing to accommodate Spanish-speaking students. Yarborough was strongly influenced by the National Education Association (NEA) and its Tucson Survey of 1965–66, which exposed the scandal of sink-or-swim schooling. The NEA's (1966) recommendation: bilingual instruction.

But would bilingual instruction work? Would children learn in two languages? Or would their English suffer? Would bilingual education give them access to the curriculum? Or would continued reliance on the native tongue keep them segregated? In 1968 these questions were unanswerable with any degree of certainty. Only a few model programs existed, promising or otherwise.[4] Research on second-language acquisition, and on the cognitive effects of bilingualism, was at a primitive stage. While the bilingual approach was theoretically appealing, practical experience was limited. And yet, the political imperative was clear: the schools were failing LEP children and something new had to be tried. In the 90th Congress (1966–67), 37 bills were introduced to authorize federal support for bilingual education, including one sponsored by freshman Representative George Bush.

Twenty-one years later, the situation is reversed. A great deal has been learned about teaching LEP students, about successful methodologies, curricula, and materials. Native-language instruction is regarded as a key ingredient—desirable, if not always feasible—by the educators of language-minority children. This is the consensus not only among bilingual educators, but among ESL instructors[5] and researchers in applied linguistics. That is, among the vast majority of professionals who teach, administer, and evaluate programs for LEP students, there is no doubt about the value of native-language instruction.[6] Bilingual programs, like other educational ventures, vary in effectiveness; using a child's mother tongue is no panacea. But whether or not bilingual education "works" is no longer a pedagogical issue. For the educators involved, the question was answered long ago—in the affirmative.

Politically, however, bilingual education is on the defensive as never before. After Californians voted in 1986 to adopt English as their official language, efforts failed to extend the state's exemplary bilingual education law. Former U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett characterized Title VI as "a failed path" and said that "a sense of cultural pride cannot come at the price of proficiency in English, our common language." Bennett has departed, but the Bush Administration has continued his preference for English-only instruction.[7] U.S. English, an advocacy group with a $6 million annual budget, purchased a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* to condemn a move to expand bilingual programs. It claimed that, under a New York State Board of Regents plan, "hundreds of thousands of children will be denied the opportunity to participate fully in the American dream."[8]

And so, the debate over the effectiveness of bilingual education persists, kept alive by critics from outside the field. Some make no secret of their ideological orientation, but the practical stakes are high, as well.

RESEARCH

There is no federal mandate for bilingual education.[9] Title VII authorizes grants for school programs, a portion of which require some use of students' native language. Participation by local school districts is voluntary. Their obligations toward LEP children are spelled out in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as interpreted by the U.S.

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prevent further "bloodletting" in the Title VII program. Other lawmakers who reluctantly supported the amendments included Representatives Augustus Hawkins and William Ford and Senators Edward Kennedy and Paul Simon (Crawford, 1989; pp. 80–84).

[4] Bilingual schooling had been commonplace in 19th century America, authorized by law in a dozen states and practiced unofficially elsewhere. But it began to decline as a result of nativist opposition in the 1880s, and it virtually disappeared during the World War I era, when anti-German hysteria prompted many states to enact English-only instruction laws. It was not until 1963, nearly half a century later, that bilingual education was resurrected, at the Coral Way School in Dade County, Florida (Kloss 1977).

[5] Many have assumed that controversies over bilingual education funding reflect a dispute between two professional interest groups. Not so. Since 1976, the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages has endorsed bilingual-bicultural education—which includes both ESL and native-language instruction—as "more effective' than ESL alone.

[6] This conclusion was reiterated by a panel of experts in educational research assembled by the U.S. General Accounting Office (1987). The only dissenters on the 10-member panel, Herbert J. Walberg and Diane Ravitch, came from outside the field of language-minority education.

[7] In 1989, the Education Department funded 75 applicants for TBE programs and 76 applicants for English-only alternative programs, although the latter group scored lower, on average, in the grant competition. If merit had been the deciding factor, twice as many TBE applications would have been awarded than alternative grants (Miller, 1989). That the procedure was legal under the new Title VII law does not make it good educational policy.

[8] The July 25, 1989, notice carried a photo of a young man washing dishes under the headline: "If Some N.Y. Educators Get Their Way, This Is the Kind of Future Many of Our Children Will Face." It added, erroneously, that under the Regents' policy, "children will be forced to study all subjects in their native languages, with very limited instruction in English." The advertisement closed by urging readers to telephone state officials to voice their disapproval; hundreds did.

[9] Nine states require schools to provide bilingual instruction for LEP children under certain circumstances. For a lucid discussion of federal law in this area, see Wong, 1988.

Supreme Court in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). Failure to offer special help—be it ESL instruction, bilingual education, or some alternative—was ruled to be illegal national-origin discrimination.[10] Subsequently, Congress codified the *Lau* decision in the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, which requires each school district to take "appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs."

While "appropriate action" need not entail native-language instruction, as a matter of practice the federal Office for Civil Rights required most districts to adopt that approach as a remedy for past violations.[11] Meanwhile, some federal courts have found a compelling case for instituting bilingual programs (e.g., the *Keyes* consent decree in Denver). In 1989, however, bilingual-education advocates failed to prove discrimination by the Berkeley, California, school district, despite its limited use of native-language instruction and bilingual teachers.

D. Lowell Jensen, the judge who decided the Berkeley case, ruled that persuasive evidence was lacking for the superiority of bilingual education when compared with the district's alternative program (Berkeley relied mainly on "pullout" ESL tutoring for LEP students enrolled in regular classrooms).[12] After listening to hours of testimony, both for and against the value of bilingual instruction, Jensen's reaction was understandable. As a lay person confronted with disagreements among experts, he concluded that the research findings were ambiguous and contradictory, insufficient to support a legal finding of discrimination. Similarly, in the policy realm, Secretary Bennett invoked the claim that the evidence is "inconclusive" to justify federal funding for experimental alternative programs, at the expense of bilingual programs. Conclusions about educational research—or the lack thereof—have practical consequences. Accordingly, it is worth sorting out the evidence.

Kenji Hakuta and Catherine Snow (1986) provide a useful typology: (a) *evaluation research*, which compares the effectiveness of different program models, and (b) *basic research*, which explores "linguistic and psychological processes in the development of bilingual children." It is the latter type, especially in the area of second-language acquisition, where advances have been most dramatic in the past 20 years—and where a strong scientific rationale can be found for bilingual education. By contrast, evaluation studies have provided far weaker support for its effectiveness. The only nationwide evaluation of Title VII programs, conductd in 1975–76 by the American Institutes for Research (Danoff, Coles, McLaughlin, & Reynolds, 1978), reported that children were doing no better in bilingual classrooms than in submersion classrooms. A 1981 review of the literature by two U.S. Education Department staffers (Baker & de Kanter, 1983) reached similar conclusions.

On the other hand, hundreds of bilingual program evaluations have documented student gains—sometimes dramatic ones—but few of these studies have followed rigorous research protocols (e.g., use of comparison groups, along with random assignment or statistical controls for preexisting differences). Christine Rossell (1989), a political scientist who testified for the defense in the Berkeley case, argues that most evaluations are not just unscientific, but biased in favor of bilingual instruction. She complains that a widely used research design, which charts the progress of LEP students against national norms for English-speakers, fails to consider the "large gains in 'achievement' from year to year that is solely a function of their increased understanding of English." In Rossell's review, studies "of good methodological quality" show bilingual education faring no better, and often worse, than monolingual English treatments.

What are we to make of this contradictory picture? According to Hakuta and Snow (1986), there are two possible explanations: Either bilingual programs are doing poorly, or evaluation research is doing a poor job of measuring their successes.

No doubt there are ineffective bilingual classrooms. Staff may lack experience, teachers may be unable to speak the students' language,[13] facilities may be crumbling, administrators may be hostile, curricula may be ill-designed, materials may be unavailable, methodologies may be outmoded. A myriad of variables is involved. It defies logic to assume that language of instruction is always the decisive one. Teaching in two languages, by itself, does not constitute an educational "method." Nor does the failure of some programs labeled "bilingual" cast doubt on all bilingual approaches. It makes little sense to judge the state of the art by reviewing what bilingual educators were doing 10 and 15 years ago. And yet, such practices are common in literature reviews and program evaluations, which typically lump together the outcomes of varied programs, effective and ineffective, and take an average—often biasing the results against the concept of bilingual education.

Like Baker and de Kanter (1983), Rossell (1989) attempts to answer questions of methodological effectiveness by comparing program models: submersion, TBE,

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[10] Justice William O. Douglas, writing for a unanimous court, rejected the San Francisco school district's argument that it was not discriminating against LEP children because they received the same instruction as English-speaking children. "There is no equality of treatment," he wrote, "merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are foreclosed from any meaningful education."

[11] In 1980, however, a proposal to make these "Lau Remedies" official—essentially mandating bilingual programs nationwide—created a furor in the education community. It was withdrawn by the incoming Reagan Administration as an example of federal "intrustion on state and local responsibility."

[12] Although the plaintiffs' suit focused on alleged inadequacies in Berkeley's program, rather than on its failure to provide bilingual education, the defense succeeded in reframing the case as a choice between differing pedagogical approaches (*Teresa P. v. Berkeley*, 1989).

[13] One study of "bilingual" classrooms in California found that teachers used children's native language, on average, only 8% of the time (Garcia 1985).

ESL, and "structured immersion" in English.[14] While such a research design might be appropriate in a laboratory environment, it is problematic in the real world of American schools. As Willig (1987) has noted, such reviews confuse the concept *program* and *methodology*, making comparisons meaningless. Immersion methods, sometimes termed *sheltered English*, have been used successfully in bilingual programs. ESL has always been a component of TBE, but there are varying ESL approaches. Some programs described as structured immersion feature a daily period of native-language instruction—more than is offered in some programs described as TBE! Inevitably, the debate over evaluation research has featured much quibbling over labels, with each side seeking to "claim" successful programs.

As an alternative to the crude "vote-counting" of most literature reviews, which tallies evaluation studies for and against various models, Willig (1985) applied a sophisticated statistical technique known as *meta-analysis* to the Baker and de Kanter (1983) data. This allowed for more precise measurements—combining "mean effect sizes," or differences between programs that were too small to be statistically significant. Recrunched in this way, the numbers came out moderately favorable to bilingual education. Also, by coding for more variables than Baker and de Kanter, Willig was able to make detailed program comparisons. But the problem of inconsistent labels remained. Her study is more useful for defending bilingual programs politically than for improving them pedagogically. As the computer programmer's saying goes, "Garbage in, garbage out." For educators, it is the "whys" that matter—which is the concern of basic research.

Rossell (1989) explains her conclusion that LEP children progress more slowly in TBE than in alternative programs with the theory that they must be receiving too little exposure to English: "Virtually every analyst of second language learning is agreed that the length of time spent in language study is, all other things being equal, far and away the single greatest predictor of achievement in that language." This sounds authoritative, but is a misleading oversimplification of research on bilingualism, which provides no support for Rossell's "time on task" theory.

Psycholinguists are agreed that acquiring a second language is a protracted process (Hakuta & Snow, 1986). Young children may rapidly acquire basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), the simple speech sometimes described as "playground English." But cognitive-academic language proficiency (CALP), which is needed for intellectually demanding, decontextualized pursuits like reading a text without pictures, requires 5 to 7 years to develop (Cummins, 1981).

Nevertheless, basic researchers say there is no urgency to get children started in English classrooms. Evidence strongly suggests that cognitive skills in a child's first language facilitate his or her development in a second; literacy skills, for example, appear to be transferable between languages. To paraphrase Cummings, time spent studying the native language is not time wasted for learning English. In an ESL-only program in Fairfax County, Virginia, immigrant children who arrive between ages 8 and 11—after having learned to read in their native tongues—soon surpass classmates who entered American schools at ages 5 to 7, even though the latter have received greater exposure to English (Collier, 1987). The same pattern has been documented among Finnish immigrants in Sweden (cited in Cummings, 1981, p. 31).

More to the point, "time on task" advocates have virtually no evidence for the benefits of structured immersion. In the early results of a national evaluation of this approach, children in TBE and developmental bilingual classrooms outpaced immersion students in both reading and mathematics when tested in English (Crawford, 1986). That is, children who had the least English instruction learned the most English, and those who had the most learned the least.[15]

This paradox is explained by Krashen (1985), who postulates that the key ingredient in second-language acquisition is *comprehensible input*, or understandable messages in the new tongue. In other words, the quality of English exposure is as important as its quantity. Children "pick up" a second language much as they do their first: they internalize it unconsciously, incidentally, as they use it to communicate. Conversely, if students fail to comprehend second-language input, it becomes linguistic "noise," and little acquisition will occur. This "input hypothesis" accounts for the success of immersion—for example, among Anglophone children in Quebec, who learn French through the study of other subjects, with instruction adjusted to their level of comprehension.[16] Simultaneously, Krashen's theory provides a rationale for bilingual instruction: knowledge and concepts learned in the native language provide context that aids in acquiring a second language. That is, they make a lesson more comprehensible when the language of instruction shifts to English.

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[14] This monolingual approach differs, at least in theory, from submersion because it uses simplified speech, contextual clues, and other devices to adjust instruction to students' levels of English proficiency.

[15] Keith Baker, the U.S. Education Department's project officer for the study, insisted in 1986 that it was premature to draw conclusions from these first-year data, which were released unofficially. Since then, a tight lid has been clamped on further leaks. A final report has been delayed, and is now scheduled for release in the fall of 1989.

[16] The researchers who designed immersion for language-majority children in Canada strongly advise against its use with language-minority children in the United States. They stress that sociocultural factors are likely to retard the development of minority children's native tongue, with possibly detrimental effects on cognitive development. By contrast, the high status of English in Canada ensures that immersion will not retard children's first language skills. Wallace E. Lambert (1984) contrasts the two situations as "subtractive" versus "additive" bilingualism.

Although "time on task" may be a valid principle in other fields of learning, there is overwhelming evidence that language acquisition is a special case. In learning English, sometimes less is more. While basic research is still exploring the mechanisms, it has clearly shown that native-language instruction can promote English acquisition. Yet Rossell, Baker, Walberg (1989), and other critics of bilingual education have declined to address any of the linguistic arguments. "Applied linguistics is a field of fads," Rossell testified in the Berkeley case.[17] Perhaps when you cannot answer your opponents, it makes tactical sense to dismiss them.

POLICY

Twenty years ago, in the absence of both practical and theoretical knowledge, bilingual programs were designed on a trial-and-error basis. In the 1980s they are increasingly shaped by the findings of basic research. Based on evolving theories of second-language acquisition, the following implications for educational practice were developed by the California State Department of Education (1983):

- Students should receive substantial amounts of instruction in and through the native language, including initial reading classes, provided by well-trained teachers with high levels of native-language proficiency.
- Comprehensible second-language input should be provided through both ESL classes and sheltered-English instruction in academic content areas.
- ESL instruction should focus on students' communicative needs rather than on grammatical form, and make extensive use of contextual clues. While using only English, the ESL teacher must modify instruction to the students' level; children should be encouraged to respond spontaneously and creatively.

These are among the principles that have guided an innovative curriculum known as Case Studies in Bilingual Education. Administered by the state education department, the project includes the highly regarded Eastman School in East Los Angeles, where the model has produced dramatic and consistent improvements in student scores since 1983 (Crawford, 1989). This was not a full-fledged research project; no control groups were studied, and the reported outcomes are not considered "of good methodological quality" for evaluation research. In fact, evaluations had to be scaled back when the Case Studies Title VII grant was terminated in 1986, a year ahead of schedule. Apparently, its emphasis on native-language development and its later transition to English was out of step with Secretary Bennett's aim of moving LEP children into the mainstream "as quickly as possible." And yet, there is no question about the benefits of this curriculum among teachers, students, and parents who participated. The "Eastman Model" has been replicated widely in California. In 1988, the Los Angeles school board voted to expand it to every school in the district—without any federal help.

This pattern is being played out elsewhere. While the ideological imperative of assimilation still overshadows Washington's thinking, support for bilingual education is growing at the local level. As schools struggle to serve growing numbers of LEP children, its benefits are becoming obvious.

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[17] Why is a political scientist more qualified to analyze bilingual education? "Linguists tend to be ardent supporters of language-maintenance programs because they themselves love languages and, as a result, frequently succumb to wishful thinking," Rossell replied. In a similar vein, Walberg charges that the opinions of researchers and practitioners in bilingual education are "suspect because their jobs depend on such programs. Getting information from such sources is like asking your barber if you need a haircut" (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1987).

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Chapter 14

SPEECH-LANGUAGE PATHOLOGISTS AND EDUCATORS: TIME TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTNERSHIP

Fay Boyd Vaughn-Cooke
University of the District of Columbia,
Washington, DC

Forming professional partnerships to attack some of the long-standing and growing problems in our public schools is a wise and hopeful strategy, for no single group—educators, linguists, speech-language pathologists, or psychologists—working alone, even in the most committed way, will be able to solve the problems, given their magnitude, facing our educational system today. One of the most serious of these problems is the miseducation of children who speak nonstandard dialects of English.

In school systems throughout the country, nonstandard speakers are dropping out in alarming numbers, long before acquiring the basic skills that provide the stepping stones to economic independence and a decent life. The school's inability to educate properly nonstandard speakers is due to a complex set of factors which are economic, cultural, and linguistic in origin. Thus, a simple approach that does not involve a collaborative effort, a partnership, will surely result in further failure. One of the best ways to highlight the need for partnerships in education is to study carefully the consequences of not forming partnerships.

The now well-known Ann Arbor School District court case is illustrative. First, I will briefly review the case, then I will discuss a key problem that arose because competent speech-language pathologists and educators did not form a partnership to address the challenge of educating nonstandard speakers.

THE ANN ARBOR SCHOOL DISTRICT COURT CASE

In January of 1979, a lawsuit was filed in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on behalf of 11 Black children, which charged that the Ann Arbor School District violated federal law because it failed to address the language barrier, Black English, encountered by the plaintiff children. This barrier impeded the children's ability to perform at grade levels appropriate for their ages. According to Ruth Zweigler (Hemphill, 1980), coordinator of the student advocacy center in Ann Arbor:

> Some of the children were in special education, some of them were discipline problems, and some of them . . . had simply not learned. None of the children were succeeding in school, and in the fourth or fifth grade the parents were suddenly realizing that their children were not getting their math skills, they were not getting their reading skills. . . . (p. 86)

In addition to experiencing academic failure, the children "were placed in speech pathology classes for a nonexistent language deficiency" (Smitherman, 1981, p. 11).

The law cited by the attorneys for the plaintiff children was Title 20 of the United States Code, Section 1703(f), which states:

> No State shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin by—
>
> . . . .
>
> (f) the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs. (Cited by Kaimowitz & Lewis, 1979, p. 22.)

After reviewing the testimony from a number of language specialists and educators, U.S. District Judge Charles W. Joiner, in his Memorandum Opinion and Order (Civil Action No. 7-71861, U.S. District Court, East District, Detroit, Michigan), ordered the following:

> Counsel for the defendant (Ann Arbor School District) is directed to submit to this court within thirty (30) days a proposed plan *defining the exact steps to be taken* (1) to help the teachers of the plaintiff children at King School to identify children speaking "black English" and the language spoken as a home or community language, and (2) to use that knowledge in teaching such students how to read standard English. (p. 42)

In order to carry out the judge's order, educators in Ann Arbor had to do what should have been done before the court case: form partnerships with competent speech-language pathologists before undertaking the challenge of educating nonstandard speakers of English.

What do speech-language pathologists need to know in order to serve as competent members of educational partnerships? First and foremost, they need to know how to evaluate tests and procedures in order to determine whether they can provide valid descriptions of nonstandard speakers' linguistic systems. Language specialists cannot rely on standardized tests, like the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (PPVT-R) (Dunn & Dunn, 1981), for example, which is used widely in school systems, to evaluate the linguistic skills of nonstandard speakers.

It has been pointed out repeatedly (Baraz, 1969; Reveron, 1984; Seymour & Miller-Jones, 1981; Taylor & Payne, 1983; Vaughn-Cooke, 1979, 1980, 1983, 1985, 1986; Wolfram, 1976, 1983; and Wolfram & Christian, 1989) that when such tests are used, erroneous conclusions are often drawn about the speakers' language abilities (i.e., the test results usually imply that the speakers' language is deviant, rather than different, from standard dialects of English).

Recall that the plaintiff children in the Ann Arbor case were placed in speech therapy, even though they did not have language disorders. This was not surprising, given the fact that they were administered standardized language tests. Excerpts from the results of the educational evaluation reported in the second amended complaint filed by the counsel for the plaintiffs revealed that the PPVT-R was one of the tests administered. According to Kaimowitz and Lewis (1979), the complaint indicated the following results for one of the children:

> The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test measures the student's language receptive skills. . . . From the results obtained from this evaluation, her [the plaintiff] language receptive skills are at the lower limits of the average range of intelligence. Her mental age of 5.4 years in [sic] contrast to 3.8 years of age when she was evaluated . . . on 10/5/76. (p. 10)

The PPVT-R does not provide a valid assessment of a nonstandard speakers' language (Vaughn-Cooke, 1979, 1980, 1983), thus it should not have been included in the battery of tests selected by the assessors. If speech-language pathologists know which tests and procedures to avoid when evaluating the language of nonstandard speakers, the quality of their input to the educational partnership will be enhanced tremendously. The following is a set of guidelines that speech-language pathologists can use to help determine whether a test or procedure is valid for nonstandard speakers.

SOME GUIDELINES FOR DETERMINING WHETHER TESTS ARE VALID FOR NONSTANDARD SPEAKERS[1]

1. The test should be able to account for language variation.
2. The test should be based on valid assumptions about language.
3. The test should be based on a developmental model.
4. The results of the test should provide principled guidelines for language intervention.
5. The test should be able to provide an adequate description of some aspect of the child's knowledge of language.
6. The test should reflect the latest developments in linguistic theory.
7. A test that does not elicit and analyze a spontaneous sample of language should never serve as the sole evaluation procedure.

Each guideline will be discussed in turn; the use of the guidelines will be illustrated by referring, when appropriate, to the PPVT-R and the Grammatic Closure Subtest (GCS) of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (Kirk, McCarthy, & Kirk, 1982). These tests have been selected as examples because they provide such dramatic illustration of the problems that arise when standardized tests are used to evaluate the language of nonstandard speakers. Although the PPVT-R and the GCS were first published more than 20 years ago, they were revised in the early 1980s and are well known and still used in public school systems throughout the country.

1. The test should be able to account for language variation.

Does the scoring system of a test fail to acknowledge language variation by disallowing credit for nonstandard forms? Perhaps this is the first question that a speech-language pathologist should ask when selecting a tool for evaluating the linguistic system of a nonstandard speaker. If the answer is yes, and if the tool cannot be adapted to account for language differences, it should be declared invalid and withdrawn from consideration by the language specialist. A comparison of the GCS correct responses with possible responses provides an outstanding example of the penalty nonstandard speakers can pay when inappropriate tests are used to evaluate their language (see Table 1).

Table 1 shows that it is possible for 23 of the 33 responses (nearly 70%) from Black English (BE) speakers to be counted as incorrect given the scoring requirements of the GCS. The examiner could be led to conclude that the BE speakers have not acquired the concepts of plurality, past tense, possession, and so on. This, of course, would be incorrect, for they have acquired these concepts; they simply do not use the standard English (SE) marked for coding such concepts. Such an observation is critical, for if speakers have not acquired concepts, they should be enrolled in language therapy. On the other hand, if speakers have acquired the concepts, but code them with BE forms, their responses should be viewed as normal, and therapy would be highly inappropriate.

It is important to note that many test authors now specify the speakers for whom their test is appropriate. The authors of the PPVT-R, for example, stressed that their test "is designed to measure a subject's receptive

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[1] These guidelines can be used to evaluate tests for standard speakers as well.

TABLE 1. ITPA Grammatic Closure Subtest with comparison of correct responses and Vernacular Black English alternate forms.

	Stimulus with correct item (underlined) according to ITPA test manual	*Possible response from a Black nonmainstream English speaker*
1.	Here is a dog. Here are two dogs/doggies	dog
2.	This cat is under the chair. Where is the cat? She is on/ (any preposition, other than "under," indicating location).	
3.	Each child has a ball. This is hers, and this is his.	
4.	This dog likes to bark. Here he is barking.	
5.	Here is a dress. Here are two dresses.	dress
6.	The boy is opening the gate. Here the gate has been opened.	open
7.	There is milk in this glass. It is a glass of/with/for/o'/lots of milk.	
8.	This bicycle belongs to John. Whose bicycle is it? It is John's.	John
9.	This boy is writing something. This is what he wrote/has written/did write.	writed/wrote
10.	This is the man's home, and this is where he works. Here he is going to work, and here he is going home/back home/to his home.	
11.	Here it is night, and here it is morning. He goes to work first thing in the morning, and he goes home first thing at night.	
12.	This man is painting. He is a painter/fence painter.	
13.	The boy is going to eat all the cookies. Now all the cookies have been eaten.	ate
14.	He wanted another cookie, but there weren't any/any more.	none/no more
15.	This horse is not big. This horse is big. This horse is even bigger.	more bigger
16.	And this horse is the very biggest.	most biggest
17.	Here is a man. Here are two men/gentlemen.	mans/mens
18.	This man is planting a tree. Here the tree has been planted.	
19.	This is soap, and these are soap/bars of soap/more soap.	soaps
20.	This child has lots of blocks. This child has even more.	
21.	And this child has the most.	mostest
22.	Here is a foot. Here are two feet.	foots/feets
23.	Here is a sheep. Here are lots of sheep.	sheeps
24.	This cookie is not very good. This cookie is good. This cookie is even better.	gooder
25.	And this cookie is the very best.	
26.	This man is hanging the picture. Here the picture has been hung.	hanged
27.	The thief is stealing the jewels. These are the jewels that he stole.	stoled/stealed
28.	Here is a woman. Here are two women.	womans/womens
29.	The boy had two bananas. He gave one away and he kept one for himself.	hisself
30.	Here is a leaf. Here are two leaves.	leafs
31.	Here is a child. Here are three children.	childrens
32.	Here is a mouse. Here are two mice.	mouses
33.	These children all fell down. He hurt himself, and she hurt herself. They all hurt themselves.	theirselves/theyselves theirself/theyself

Note. Adapted from "Test interpretation and sociolinguistic differences" by W. A. Wolfram, 1983, *Topics in Language Disorders, 3*, pp. 27–28. Copyright 1983 by Aspen. Used by permission.

(hearing) vocabulary for Standard American English" (Dunn & Dunn, 1981, p. 2). This statement is in essence, an admission that the PPVT-R is inappropriate for nonstandard speakers.

2. The test should be based on valid assumptions about language.

Before constructing a language test, the developer at some point should ask a basic question: What does it mean to know a language? That is, what do speakers have to know before one can conclude that they know language A or B? Linguistic research has shown that to know a language involves four aspects: (a) knowing the concepts that represent the objects, the events, and their relationships in the world; (b) knowing the linguistic forms that code these concepts (c) knowing the set of rules (phonological and syntactic) that govern the possible combinations of forms; and (d) knowing the set of rules that govern the use of linguistic forms. If all or some of the assumptions about it means to know a language are invalid, this fundamental shortcoming will be reflected in the test, and it will be incapable of adequately assessing the language of standard as well as nonstandard speakers.

When the PPTV-R is examined within the framework of the first aspect of Guideline 2, one can see that some of the assumptions about language that underlie this tool are invalid. The test attempts to assess a speaker's receptive knowledge of the lexicon (vocabulary), but this goal cannot be achieved fully because the selection of lexical items that make up the test excludes early acquired items that code relational concepts, a major class of words. For some time now, research on lexical development (Lahey & Bloom, 1977; Nelson, 1973) has shown that very young children use relational words (e.g., *more, all gone, no*) as well as substantive words (e.g., *dog, cat, man*) like those making up a large percentage of the PPVT-R. The former class of words code very important semantic notions in language and thus should be considered when evaluating a child's lexicon. However, they are not included in the PPVT-R's set of test items. This omission is a serious flaw in the test.

3. The test should be based on a developmental model.

If an assessment tool is to indicate whether a system is developing normally, it must provide a method for evaluating the order in which specific linguistic knowledge appears in a child's system. For example, studies of phonological acquisition have shown that stops are generally acquired before homorganic fricatives; thus one would predict that if a child can produce fricatives he should also be able to produce stops. Violations of expected patterns often provide evidence of deviant development.

In addition to considering the order in which knowledge is acquired, an assessment procedure should also be concerned about the age at which linguistic information is acquired. Studies have shown a fairly wide range of variation with respect to age of acquisition. For example Adam, Sarah, and Eve, discussed by Brown (1973), acquired the present progressive marker (e.g., -ing in *walking*) at ages 2:6, 2:10, and 1:9, respectively. Overall, the findings of language acquisition research indicate a nearly invariant order with respect to the acquisition of linguistic knowledge; however, extensive variation in the age at which specific knowledge is acquired has been reported. A reliable statement regarding when a child is expected to exhibit certain linguistic information should be based on observations of language development in a fairly large number of children.

Examination of the PPVT-R within the context of this guideline indicates that the test items do not reflect findings from recent research on lexical development. Dictionaries (e.g., the 1953 edition of Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary*) and word lists (e.g., Thorndike & Lorge, 1944) served as the major sources for the selection of items for the PPVT-R (Dunn & Dunn, 1981, p. 30).

4. The results of the test should provide principled guidelines for language intervention.

If the second guideline cannot be met; that is, if the fundamental assumptions underlying a test are not valid, then no basis will exist for developing principled intervention procedures. Consider, for example, the lack of direction that the PPVT-R provides for language intervention. Although the examiner presumably can calculate the testee's intelligence quotient, percentile score, and mental age, the results of the test do not provide any theoretically supported suggestions regarding which vocabulary items should be taught at different stages in a child's intervention program.

Evaluation of the GCS within the framework of this guideline shows that while this subtest can reveal the specific standard English morphological rules that have not been acquired by a speaker, no recommendations are provided regarding the order in which unacquired rules should be taught. It has been observed (Brown, 1973) that the grammatical morphemes appear in a certain order, and this order should be considered when intervention goals are being developed.

5. The test should be able to provide an adequate description of some aspect of the child's knowledge of language.

Given the enormous complexity of language, it would be unrealistic for a test to attempt to evaluate in detail every aspect of a speaker's linguistic knowledge. An adequate test should have a clearly defined focus—that is, it should be designed specifically to assess the grammatical, semantic, or pragmatic systems, or subcomponents within those systems. The inability of a tool to elicit the appropriate data for revealing a speaker's knowledge about at least one of the components of language generally indicates that false assumptions about the nature of language underlie its theoretical foundation.

Although the PPVT-R focuses on a specific subcomponent of language, the test is incapable of providing an acceptable description of it. Its inability to characterize adequately a speaker's receptive knowledge of the lexical component is due in part to the absence of input from research on lexical growth. A sound hypothesis based on empirical research would provide a principled rationale for the selection of items for a vocabulary test. An arbitrary set of items will only provide an arbitrary and often incorrect description of the speaker's lexical knowledge.

6. The test should reflect the latest developments in linguistic theory.

The progress that has been made in language assessment in the 1970s and 80s is impressive. It is noteworthy, however, that some of the major advancements have had almost no effect on the assessment of language in nonstandard speakers. This observation is evidenced by the fact that many of the new tools that reflect the current foci on pragmatics and semantics are not appropriate for nonstandard speakers. This shortcoming was openly acknowledged by Wiig (1982) in her pragmatics test, Let's Talk Inventory, as follows:

> The item design presents a deliberate bias against a speaker who is not a representative of standard American English. This bias was dictated by the recognition that social-interpersonal communication acts differ as a function of language community. The inventory was designed to be appropriate for probing the ability to formulate and associate speech acts representative of speakers of standard American English. (p. 4)

Neither the PPVT-R nor the GCS reflects new developments in language theory, for they both were constructed more than 20 years ago. Although both tests were revised during the 1980s, the focus on linguistic forms, as opposed to semantics or pragmatics, has remained unchanged.

7. A test that does not elicit and analyze a spontaneous sample of language should never serve as the sole evaluation procedure.

Although a comprehensive evaluation of a speaker's language may include an examination of some controlled elicited responses, like those extracted by the GCS, an analysis of a sample of spontaneous speech should be performed for every testee who uses oral language to communicate. Linguistic research has shown convincingly that a representative language sample is a necessary component of an evaluation process, if an adequate description of a speaker's linguistic ability is to be obtained. Thus, an assessment tool like the PPVT-R, which does not require the testee to talk (to produce linguistic forms), should never serve as the sole indicator of a speaker's knowledge of language.

If the speech-language pathologist at the school attended by the plaintiff children in the Ann Arbor case had known which tests and procedures to avoid when evaluating the language of nonstandard speakers, results of the PPVT-R would not have been accepted as reliable evidence for a language deficit, and the plaintiff children probably would not have been enrolled in speech therapy. Researchers (Seymour & Miller-Jones, 1981; Vaughn-Cooke, 1980, 1983) have argued convincingly, and for some time now, that language sample analyses, rather than standardized tests, provide the most reliable and valid descriptions of the linguistic abilities of nonstandard speakers. In order to conduct such analyses, speech-language pathologists must know the phonological, syntactic, and semantic features characteristic of the nonstandard dialect spoken by the students. In the case of Black English, Williams & Wolfram (1976) list a total of 21 features. Speech-language pathologists must know those features and the factors affecting their occurrence in the dialect. Such knowledge will help prepare them for their role in a partnership that can help improve the quality of education for a group of children who are at risk for academic failure.

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Chapter 15

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SHIRLEY JONES DANIELS
Jefferson City, MO

Because there is not much time left, we are going to try to get to the heart of what has happened at this conference and what, hopefully, will be some follow-up steps to it. This National Forum on Schools was designed to provide a wide array of experts to present information about three problems currently facing the schools. The first, young children at risk of educational failure; second, multilingual students; and, third, and overarching problem of literacy.

I have looked for commonalities of themes, concerns, and strategies, as well as areas of divergent views in the presentations that we have heard. My own report on recommendations is generally in accordance with speaker LeMoine's three R's: research, resources, and reforms.

Among the first things that struck me in thinking about the presentations were some issues of definition and terminology that surfaced throughout the presentations. The first of these had to do with the term *at risk*. Who are the children who are at risk? How are they defined? And what difference does it make how we define them? One speaker's definition was that we are looking at high-risk, poor, low-achieving, special, disadvantaged children. However, the burden on all of these children, regardless of what you call them, is that they enter school unequipped with literacy, and they experience difficulty in acquiring this knowledge and skill so that they can use literacy tools to enhance their own knowledge. Another speaker said that children always have been and always will be at risk. But the nature of that risk changes over time and from learner to learner. The major risks that children have are academic problems, conduct disorders, and severe anxiety in adulthood, according to this presenter, who said that the best predictor of academic problems is social class. This gets back to poor, special, disadvantaged, and all of the terms that are now becoming perceived as pejorative labels for children who have been declared at risk.

One speaker said that at-risk children are those who lag behind in literacy because of their low socioeconomic levels and because of reading and learning disabilities. Both types of these children have two characteristics in common, the speaker said. Whatever you call them, the special education kids or the regular education kids, the fact is that they are reading below national norms, and their reading lags behind their potential.

Our keynote speaker defined at-risk children as those who survive at the margins of society. This definition seems to incorporate some of the ideas that we have heard. Another definition of this group was those who may suffer personal and educational failure because of the poverty and stress in their families. This broadened definition encompasses the family and suggests that our intervention strategies cannot be limited to children alone.

Each of the speakers gave profiles or a listing of the attributes of at-risk populations. These are helpful, as are definitions of at risk, especially when we get to the area of determination of eligibility. Who gets served with what kinds of services, and who are the providers? Inevitably, we get to a selection process because of limitations of resources, fragmentation of services, and turf battles (i.e., ownership of the population).

One of the speakers began with definitional issues relating to diagnosis and assessment of children who are at risk, who have literacy problems, and probably those who are bilingual, multicultural, or who come from multicultural and multilingual backgrounds. The confounding of intent and strategy, a mismatch between the purpose of tests and how we use them was discussed, as well as the appropriateness of the testing process for young children and what we know about normal children's development. A third issue, the tests themselves, was examined. Discussions included the fact that there are many tests; questions arise concerning whether or not we even have suitable screening instruments, let alone the validity and reliability of evaluation instruments. Also mentioned was the current fad of teaching to tests to demonstrate accountability.

One speaker focused on the skills and knowledge needed by speech-language pathologists to evaluate tests and procedures to determine whether those materials and techniques can describe accurately nonstandard speakers' linguistic systems. The risk we face because of problems in definition, terminology, and assessments to determine eligibility and access to service is misdiagnosis and failure to evaluate and serve appropriately children whose language differences are not pathological.

Speakers provided guidelines on determining the validity of tests used with various groups of children. There is one issue that has to be addressed, I think, as an action step for many professions: Is the state of the art of testing sufficiently advanced to differentiate among the various types of low-achieving children? Can we differentiate among children who are handicapped, multilingual, or from multicultural backgrounds and under-achieving children who can remain under the ownership of regular education? Barbara Keough, in a 1988 article in the *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, said we need to develop assessment and intervention techniques that are related to the definition of learning disabilities to rule out misidentification of children from both perspectives—that is, those who are ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse and academically underachieving, from those who have central nervous system disorders and require special education. So, again, definition of what it is that is causing the underachievement is central to the notion of what kind of testing materials and strategies we are using.

How you define the population also determines the eligibility for services. We have new legislation, handicapped legislation, that allows states to define at-risk children. We must decide who shall be served and who shall not on the basis of those definitions. Are speech-language pathologists, reading specialists and all of the range of professionals who indicated an interest in this conference represented in discussions about whether we are going to use this federal money to serve at-risk children and, if so, what types of at-risk children are we going to serve? The last information available (published in the *Annual Report of Congress*) on the Handicapped Infants and Toddlers Act, was that only 17 states had decided to serve at-risk children with this federal money. I do not know what the status is now, but that is certainly an area for some political action at the state level and at the local level.

My recommendations in this area are that ASHA and representatives of public and private agencies and professional groups should consider the need and feasibility of jointly developing documents, perhaps a series of documents, that result from dialogues on the nature and service needs of the population embraced by the term *at risk* to prevent gaps in services to the children who are our concern. Look at the types of agencies at all levels of government involved in intervention efforts. Look at the types of professionals and disciplines involved, and that should be involved, in efforts to ameliorate the results of the factors that affect school achievement. These dialogues should involve the roles that can be played by various professionals in a concerted effort to identify at-risk students and implement interventions to increase their opportunities to learn. These dialogues should also discuss funding sources, the barriers or hurdles in developing concerted action plans, and the resources available for at-risk children and their families. There are many resources, but we often do not know what they are and how to access them. Then we should consider what additional resources are needed.

Literacy was defined in numerous ways as well. Our keynote speaker moved beyond literacy to the question of educated consumers and citizens who are prepared to make informed choices and can read between the lines. One speaker gave us a notion of literacy inflation. There is a continuum ranging from illiteracy to literacy to hyperliteracy, he said. The goal for American education, these days, is to educate beyond literacy to hyperliteracy, that is, educate students to read at levels which in previous generations were reserved for the educated elite.

The definitions and profiles used by our speakers about literacy can be guideposts to the development of goals in the push to help children achieve literacy. They have described the knowledge and the attributes needed by the skilled reader and writer. What is the product we are aiming for? What are the specific deficiencies in comprehension and composition of the unskilled reader? What do we attack? One of our speakers had specific recommendations for attacking the overall problem of literacy and helping at-risk children achieve literacy. I will repeat them because there appeared to be some disagreement with some of those recommendations.

Dr. Kagan suggested that we have to reduce the gap between poor and middle-class families if you view literacy problems as stemming from social class. That is, we have to become political animals, and anything less than the restructuring of our society will be a band-aid approach. His second recommendation was to locate areas where achievement is low around our country, and in our communities, and test every four-year-old. We know from this conference what some people think about our overall testing and the state of the art in assessment. Dr. Kagan also said that he did not mind if the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT), which was criticized by another speaker, was used to test vocabulary, and that we need to start a peer tutoring program using high-school seniors.

We had, from Dr. Chall, a discourse on how literacy develops and the relationship between developing reading and developing language. That was very informative to those of us in the field of speech and language. The one troubling point was that she described some research on emergent literacy suggesting that those programs that provide intervention for children at risk to develop good oral language skills do not seem to have as much effect over time as those that provide systematic, early instruction in reading, with direct instruction the approach of choice. What we do about this kind of research, I think, is a question that we as speech-language pathologists have to address. Does our work in early oral language intervention make a difference in achieving literacy? Is it a question of timing? We must examine what is taught, how it is taught, and the conditions under which we try to develop oral language. That needs to be investigated in order to determine the efficacy of what we claim to do very well and how it is related to the whole literacy effort.

Many of our speakers gave specific instructional approaches for helping low achievers, and I think you have in their papers a great resource, including references to the research that has come out of related fields on helping low-achieving children. First, the factor of motivation was discussed with reminders that we need to forge relationships, partnerships, with the learners to raise their self-esteem, to help them feel that learning is worthwhile and should be valued. I think our recommendation in this area is that we need greater information exchange among the various disciplines involved in the problem. Just as we have invited persons to present here at a topical conference, efforts should be made to reach wider audiences, to share the information for research and demonstration projects focusing on ways to help low achievers. Second, training programs back at home should take leadership in arranging similar information exchange opportunities and begin to forge political, as well as research, professional, and collaborative efforts to attack the complex problems we have heard about. Third, while ASHA traditionally has not required courses in reading, as one of our speakers pointed out, the Association does have the flexibility in the current certification program to take steps to encourage speech-language pathologists to take preservice and in-service training in the area of reading and literacy in order to bolster the effectiveness of what we do. We also need to understand how to coordinate efforts in diagnosis, testing, and intervention, and in determining the timing and focus of our intervention efforts.

More emphasis needs to be put on training and research for helping secondary school students, the ones who are most vulnerable for dropping out. Traditionally, special education services have been provided in an elementary school model. We are short-changing our young adults and adolescents at high risk as well as those very young children at risk. There were calls for restructuring the educational system. Besides more money, more collaboration was recommended. The question is, do we know how to engage in collaborative efforts effectively? Some beginning research has identified competencies in collaboration. We need to look at that research and engage in more efforts to prepare ourselves to be part of the partnership. Also, cross training among the different professions and disciplines is needed to ensure that we can speak each other's language and understand each other's contributions and research efforts.

Cooperative learning and peer mediated interventions were recommended as approaches. We need continued research on the effects of these strategies, and that has been recommended within special education on helping to achieve literacy. Moreover, given the dimensions of the problem, there is a need for a research agenda and directed funding for investigating appropriate evaluation, diagnosis, and theory-based intervention models and strategies. We need to continue to expand our knowledge base in the literacy area, including effective ways of working and communicating with parents and children who come from ethnic, cultural, or racial groups. As speakers pointed out, we must be aware of their attitude towards, and the values they hold about, education. These attitudes are often based on their own negative experiences.

Finally, with regard to education in a multicultural society, we look at the role of speech-language pathologists with low-achieving children, but we have not necessarily looked at that role in bilingual instruction. One of our speakers recommended research partnerships to develop a body of knowledge for effective programs for bilingual speakers and those who are speakers of nonstandard English. Our speakers have said that we are still faced with teachers and educators with low expectations for achievement. This leads to the "self-fulfilling prophecy." We need to nurture self-esteem that makes children believe success is possible. We recommend reviewing and expanding the role of the speech-language pathologist to work more with speakers who have limited proficiency in English, recruitment and retention of minority students, and increasing the representation of diversity among our own membership in order to benefit the profession as well as those who need services.

One speaker looked at the "tangled strands of debate" about bilingual education that include definitional issues, political realities, and program effectiveness. One recommendation is that while a great deal is known about teaching children who have limited proficiency in English (LEP children)—the successful methodologies, curriculum, and materials—we need to study the effectiveness of the programs that are trying to use those methodologies and techniques. There needs to be more strong research to support the concept that time spent in various strategies with LEP children, such as instruction in the native language, is not time wasted.

The issue of which LEP children need what kind of instruction is not outside of ASHA's purview. The shortage of bilingual and minority special education instructors and diagnostic personnel has been a continuing problem in the field. Alliances need to be forged with personnel in organizations concerned with bilingual education, and recruitment of bilingual personnel should be a priority. Practitioners and diagnosticians need to be skilled in communicating with the parents of bilingual children and with the children themselves, to encourage parental support and keep the children motivated to achieve. Evaluation research in the area of bilingual education is seen as needing more rigorous research designs. Also, we need to make people aware of the value of basic research in the area of bilingual education and to be wary of the known flaws in the evaluation research.

One of our speakers also raised the issue of the use of technology and media in reaching those in and out of school who need literacy training, as well as networking to gain the knowledge and meet the people who are involved in multilingual and multicultural education. We need to develop a position on the role of the speech-language pathologist in working with adults with literacy problems, how to motivate them to achieve literacy.

I would like to end not on an upbeat note, but on a somber note. Many of our speakers have emphasized that we are in a crisis. If you are not familiar with the case of

Torres vs. Little Flower Children's Services, a case that reached the Supreme Court in 1987 and in which the Supreme Court denied review, I urge you to read that case. See if you can come away without feeling that we need to take personal responsibility to have the will, knowledge, and competencies to stop misdiagnosis and miseducation of culturally different poor children and low-achieving children, and become advocates for those who have no voice and no political power. Speaker after speaker agreed that our survival as a country depends upon it, and our children deserve no less. We must, as many speakers noted, view these children as resources to be protected and nurtured. I have enjoyed the conference very much, I have learned a great deal, and I urge that you study and take to heart the many messages in the presentations brought to us by our experts in the field.

Chapter 16

FEDERAL POLICY BRIEFING SESSION

Terry Lierman
Capital Associates, Inc.,
Washington, DC

When I first went to Capitol Hill—I was at the National Institutes of Health before I moved to Capitol Hill—the first task that I was given by the chairman of the committee was one that required a 3-page memo for him. If I had been at NIH, it would have been 30 pages, in academia it would have been at least 80 pages, so I felt pretty good about three pages. I gave it to him and came back about an hour later, and he had written something on the first page, nothing on the second, and nothing on the third. I came to two conclusions: Either my writing skills had improved dramatically on pages two and three or, as you can guess, he didn't read pages two and three. That was, literally, my first week on the Hill, and I was scared to death. I looked at him, and he looked at me, and he said, "From now on , Terry, just tell me what time it is, not how the clock works." And I can tell you, 8 years after that, no matter what the subject was, from the B-1 bomber to the MX missile to funding for handicapped programs, it may have been a legal-sized, single-spaced piece of paper, but it was never longer than one page. I say that because it really works into what I want to try to do with you for a few moments now. I am going to go over it briefly, but I want to set the tone for really why I think it is important.

I am from Wisconsin. I believe in noblesse oblige. I believe in public service. I believe in what government is all about. Call it liberal, call it conservative, whatever you want to call it. The point is, there is a woman I do work with as well, her name is Mary Lasker, and she says, "The money I spend in taxes is my money, I have a right to help determine how it's spent." That is exactly what lobbying is for and what lobbying is about. It is amazing how many times I go to conferences or workshops or colleges to lecture, and, always, I'm called the governmental relations person, I'm called a PR person, I'm called everything but a lobbyist. Then I have to get up and say that I am a lobbyist. I'm proud that I am a lobbyist. If you are not proud of what you are doing and the cause you are fighting for, you should not be doing it. And by saying that, I say to you, you hear the old adage of the squeaky wheel, you hear the adage of winding the clock, we hear any number of adages as we go through our ages I guess, but it's true, the squeaky wheel does get the grease.

I certainly compliment Dr. Herer for putting together this kind of a program on literacy and what is happening in this country. I live in the District of Columbia. I can relate to it probably as well as many of you, if not all of you, realizing the problems that we have. What you have to realize is that Washington does not move unless you become the grease. You may feel strongly about your cause, but I can hazard to guess that 80% of you are going to go home, you are never going to write a letter, you are never going to make a phone call, you are never going to make a Congressional visit, and 60% of you will not even vote in the next election. Pretty depressing when you think about what this government is all about. What I want to do is discuss the need for your activism, what you should be doing, and maybe make some points and give some ideas that might in time make you interested.

It is not a fake phrase, you really can make a difference. I can give you example after example of how one person has made a difference, how a group of people have made a bigger difference. With the network that you have, with 59,000 members of ASHA, not to mention your students and your parents and your other colleagues and academia, it is truly amazing, if you think about it. One of the things that I think is really important is to explain the system quickly because there are several ways you can get ignored when you are in Washington. Little phrases like, "I'll keep your thoughts in mind." Consider you are ignored when you hear that. "You can be sure I'll remember that when I get to committee," that is another example. There are many such phrases that you get when you are in Washington. You will also get some when it comes to money and appropriations. They will say, "up to $20 million." Well, *up to* means, in the jargon of the agency, somewhere between zero and x millions of dollars. And, if you haven't done your homework, it is going to be at the lower end for certain. There are lots of little niches, as in any profession, politics is a profession. They have their lingo, you have your lingo. Politicians have their lingo such as, "I'll keep your thoughts in mind." There are lots of things that you have to do, though. I want to leave you with four thoughts today, thoughts about the process and how to, maybe, get something out of what you are trying to do about the literacy rate.

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Before I get into those points, I just have to mention a couple of items to you, items which you may know but which are to me just mind boggling. Twenty-seven million adults lack basic communication skills, 30 million students in high schools in the year 2000 will not have the necessary skills to read or write. I do not know if any one of you has tried to hire a secretary lately, but I have been trying for about 2 months, and I can tell you I am living what I looked into before I came to see you today. It is just unbelievable. My hiring problem in Washington is certainly a growing problem; I am sure it is in many of your cities.

But, what is happening in funding? There are two issues that you have got to remember, these are two of the four that I am going to talk to you about. There is a process in Congress called *authorizing* legislation and then *appropriation*. There is a big difference between the two. How many times have you heard a member of Congress, a member of the Senate, say, "I've authorized the bill." I do not care if it is the literacy bill that you heard about yesterday. It does little good to have anything authorized if in fact it does not get appropriated or funded. The key point to remember is, when you are talking to a member of Congress about authorizing legislation, don't ever go into an office of a member and not ask for something. They know why you are there, you know why they are there, they are there because they are supposed to express your priorities. You put them in office, and, if you walk out of the office without asking them for something, I can tell you right now, the first comment that is given to the staff person is, "Why did you have me meet these people?" or "What did they want?" They know you are going to ask for something. You are not there just to glad hand them. So talk to them about authorizing legislation, the items you have mentioned here. Leave with them the fact sheets that you have. Let them know what they are about, and let them know on a personal level what the importance of it is and ask specifically for what ASHA wants Congress to do.

I am fortunate enough to be close to several members of Congress. I worked there for many years, and I still lobby them. It really struck home once about 2 years ago when a senior member of the United States Senate said to me, "I can go out with you, we can do things together as families, we can travel together, we can give speeches together, but you can't vote for me." It really kind of stuck in my side like a knife, but it is the absolute truth. That's what it is all about. These people respond to the voters. There is no politics in this country that is not local politics. These members, like it or not, are there for one reason, maybe two if we are lucky. The first reason is to get reelected. The second is to carry out an agenda that we hope they will carry through the electorate with the priorities they want.

People say, "How can I get involved?" I answer that it is so easy and actually fun, not to mention rewarding. Have a member of Congress come and visit your school, have a coffee club where people can come in and listen to him or her for a while. I think there ought to be a federal law passed that no person can come to Washington without going to his or her Congressional office. I mean, it is just amazing how many people in this room do not even know who their Representative is. And then we expect legislation to be passed? We expect programs like medical research and research in the areas that you are interested in to become a priority?

I wrote a paper not long ago, and I found that medical research was equivalent with the Defense Department in terms of federal research and development funding in the late 70s. Our priorities have so fundamentally shifted in this country in the last 10 years, that this year, Fiscal Year 1989, we are spending more on defense research and development in 23 months than we have spent in the entire history of this country in government funded medical research. Now that is an incredible change. Those are things that you do not see beyond the Beltway. And they are things of which we really must become cognizant. Basic, fundamental shifts have gone on in this country in the last 10 years, and forget the party. In my opinion, and I'm a Democrat, the Democratic Congress let the Republican President do it to them. They did not have to, the Democrats controlled the Congress. Everyone has equal blame. But when we see fundamental shifts like that, and we think about the future of the kids that you all work with and about the programs that we are trying to work in, it really makes you sit back and wonder where we are really going. It is only going to be turned around if people like me and people like you in this room get up and make a squeak. It is going to happen, and it does work.

The second thing I want to talk about is appropriations. Appropriations are simple to talk about and difficult to get. They fund the programs that are authorized. You see the President's State of the Union Address at the end of January. Two weeks after that he sends his President's Budget Request to Capitol Hill. Congress spends the next 6 months trying to figure out how they want to react to that budget, how much money they want to put in for this, and how they want to change it. One time in the history of our nation Congress exceeded the President's total budget request. Now, Congress has the image of the big spenders, but I say to you, only one time in the 200-year history of this country since the Constitution was signed has Congress exceeded the total budget of the President. What will they do? They will take money out of this priority program and put it into human resource programs. They will take something out of defense and put it into human resource programs. That is generally why they get the big spending image, because of the kinds of programs that they like to fund. There is a lot of information out there, and there are a lot of things that you should do. When you go to talk to your member, keep it simple. When you write, keep it to one page. If you want to talk about an idea and not money for something, remember that is authorizing legislation, but it is not going to do any good until it is appropriated.

The final comment that I would like to leave you with is really one that makes one sit back and think about what you are interested in. I am going to try to bring it home.

There is a thing called a *flexible freeze* now. That is basically a way of not making the decision in this town. A flexible freeze means if you can find the money from someplace else, then you can have more money. These programs are affected: Education of Children with Handicaps State and Local Grant Programs, Education of Children Handicapped Preschool Grants, Special Education Personnel Development Grants, Rehabilitation Service Support Employment Services for Individuals of Handicapped and Hearing Disabilities, Rehabilitation Services for Rehabilitation Training Hearing and Speech. All of those programs, and those are just a few that are affected, are under this flexible freeze. Basically, they are sitting at the same level where they were funded 2 years ago. Programs that are below last year's level include: Vocational Rehabilitation State Grant Program, which you have probably all participated in at one time or another, medical research at the National Institutes of Health, Child Health and Human Development Institute, Maternal and Child Health Program. Those are below the levels where they were just 4 years ago. Programs receiving increased funding include one that you are interested in, that I know of, the Early Infant Intervention Program for Education of Children with Handicaps and Hearing Disorders. That got a whopping 3.4% increase in the budget.

Priorities are important. These programs are not a priority in the Administration or in Congress. And as I say, I lay the blame on the White House, I lay the blame on Congress, and I lay the blame on people like me, and I have to transfer it to you as well. They will become priorities only when we want to make them priorities. Senator Tom Harkin who is the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee that funds most of these programs, is a strong supporter of the new Deafness and Other Communication Disorders Institute at the National Institutes of Health. It is his priority. So what happened? He put in a 25% increase this year for hearing research programs. That is wonderful. How do we get other members to choose the priorities we need to do the job that we need to do? I am going to leave it at that—the ball is in your court.

I think it is a lesson to all of us that we can in fact make a difference. I wish I could find some way of flipping everybody's switch and really making them believe that. Try as I may, people are skeptical. But the one letter on your own personal stationery, the one phone call to an aide to follow up, they are so important. What's the saying? Follow-up is the chariot of genius. That is all it is in politics. If you can not follow up, you might as well forget it. You do the letter, you do the staff visit, next time you come to Washington you ask for an appointment to visit your member. Even better, none of you is from a city that does not have a Congressional office in it. When those guys pick up the phone, say, "When is Congressman so and so, or Senator so and so, going to be in the district? I would like to make an appointment to see him to discuss issues that relate to speech and hearing." It is that simple. There is nothing complicated about it.

It is not nearly as mysterious in Washington as everyone thinks. They will give you the access. You have better access than I have because you are the constituent, you can provide the vote. If you can bring in some of your school board members, or some of your friends, that is what they want to hear and see, they can really feel it. That is what you have really got to do, get it down to that base point to that those programs can become a priority.

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NATIONAL FORUM ON SCHOOLS

Partnerships in Education: Toward a Literate America

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CONFERENCE AGENDA

Wednesday, September 20, 1989

8:00a.m. Registration - Ballroom area

8:30a.m. **Welcome**
Gilbert Herer

8:45a.m. **Keynote Address**
Mary Hatwood Futrell

9:30a.m. **Issue I: Young Children at Risk**
Jerome Kagan

10:15a.m. Break

10:30a.m. Panel Presentation: Young Children at Risk

Judith Montgomery, Moderator

Sharon Lynn Kagan
Assessing Young Children: Reconciling Conflicting Needs and Strategies

William Lepley
Iowa's Partnership to Help Young Children at Risk

Robbin Parish
Young Children at Risk: Language Development and Intervention

11:45a.m. Discussion and Audience Participation

12:15p.m. Luncheon
Issue II: Language and Literacy in an Information Age
Senator Paul Simon, Speaker

2:30p.m. Panel Presentation: Language and Literacy in an Information Age

Katharine Butler, Moderator

Jeanne Chall
From Language to Reading and Reading to Language

Annemarie Palincsar
Roles of the Communication Specialist in Disadvantaged Children's Pursuit of Literacy

Jay Samuels
Motivating the Unmotivated: Meeting the Nation's Literacy Needs into the Twenty-First Century

4:00p.m. Discussion and Audience Participation

4:30p.m. Summary and Announcements

5:30-7:30p.m. ***Reception at the National Museum of Women in the Arts***

Thursday, September 21, 1989

8:30a.m. **Issue III: Education in a Multicultural Society**
Noma LeMoine

9:15a.m. Panel Presentation: Education in a Multicultural Society

Aquiles Iglesias, Moderator

James Crawford
Educating Language Minority Children: Politics, Research and Policy

Dwight Ellis
Literacy in America: Cultural Challenges to Progress and Productivity

Anna Fay Vaughn-Cooke
Language Specialists and Educators: Time to Strengthen the Partnership

10:30a.m. Break

10:45a.m. Discussion and Audience Participation

11:15a.m. **Summary and Recommendations**
Shirley Jones Daniels

12:00noon Luncheon
Federal Policy Briefing Session (optional)
Terry Lierman, Speaker

1:30p.m. On Capitol Hill: Visits to Congress

The American Speech-Language-Hearing Association would like to thank IBM, corporate sponsor of the Luncheon on Language and Literacy in an Information Age.

List of ASHA Reports

1 Proceedings of the Conference: Communicative Problems in Cleft Palate
(April 1965)

2 A Conference on Hearing Aid Evaluation Procedures
William E. Castle, Editor (September 1967)

3 Russian Translations on Speech and Hearing
Robert W. West, Editor (March 1968)

4 Noise as a Public Health Hazard: Proceedings of the Conference
W. Dixon Ward and James E. Fricke, Editors (February 1969)

5 Speech and the Dentofacial Complex: The State of the Art
James E. Fricke, Project Director (October 1970)

6 Patterns of Orofacial Growth and Development: Proceedings of the Conference
Hughlett L. Morris, Editor (March 1971)

7 Orofacial Function: Clinical Research in Dentistry and Speech Pathology
Robert T. Wertz, Editor (July 1972)

8 Orofacial Anomalies: Clinical and Research Implications
Robert T. Wertz, Editor (August 1973)

9 Speech, Language, and Psychosocial Aspects of Cleft Lip and Cleft Palate: The State of the Art
Betty Jane McWilliams and Robert T. Wertz, Editors (December 1973)

10 The Proceedings of the Third International Congress on Noise as a Public Health Problem
Jerry V. Tobias, Gerd Jansen, and W. Dixon Ward, Editors (April 1980)

11 Proceedings of the Conference on the Assessment of Vocal Pathology
Christy Ludlow and Molly O'Connell, Editors (December 1981)

12 Contemporary Issues in Language Intervention
Jon Miller, Richard Schiefelbusch, and David Yoder, Editors (1983)

13 Proceedings of the 1983 National Conference on Undergraduate, Graduate, and Continuing Education
Norma S. Rees and Trudy L. Snope, Editors (December 1983)

14 Speech Recognition by the Hearing Impaired
Earleen Elkins, Editor (October 1984)

15 Proceedings of the Conference on the Planning and Production of Speech in Normal and Hearing-Impaired Individuals: A Seminar in Honor of S. Richard Silverman
Judith L. Lauter, Editor (October 1985)

16 Concerns for Minority Groups in Communication Disorders
Fred H. Bess, Bertha Smith Clark, and Harold R. Mitchell, Editors (December 1986)

17 Partnerships in Education: Toward a Literate America
Billie Ackerman Stewart, Editor (November 1989)

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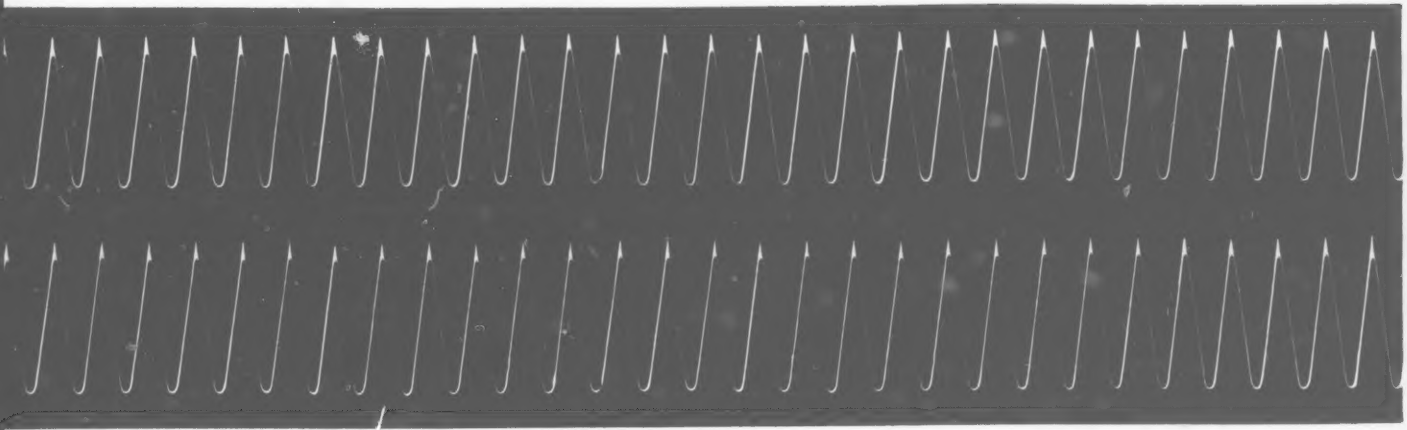

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